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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1904.

PRICE TWO CENTS 50 CENTS PER YEAR

A DOCUMENT

AGREED TO BY TOBIN AND THE
SHOE MANUFACTURERS OF
CHICAGO.

Declares In Favor of Open Shop, Curtails
Shop Privileges, Agrees to Keep Wages
From Rising Above Those of Other
Places, and Otherwise Fastens Capital-
ism On The Sons of St. Crispin.

(Special Correspondence to The People)

Lynn, Mass., June 15.—The Lynn, Mass., "News" of the 14th inst. publishes the following under the extremely appropriate caption which follows:

REMARKABLE DOCUMENT

"The Agreement Between Chicago Shoe
Manufacturers and the B. & S. W. U.

The agreement between the Shoe Manufacturers of Chicago and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union as adopted by a conference between a committee from the manufacturers and one from the union and ratified by the union shoe workers in mass meeting assembled is a remarkable document. While the right is given to the manufacturers to run open shops, the matter of hours of labor and rates of wages is left in control of the union.

The firm of Seitz, Schwab & Co. are not included in the agreement and negotiations are pending between the union and that firm.

The union has conceded the "open shop" as its custom where the union stamp is not used. The manufacturers who had declared that they would "run an open shop at a reduced scale of wages" and make wage agreements with the individual employees have agreed that the old scale shall stand and that all changes in wages must be agreed upon between the union and each employer, thus absolutely prohibiting the fixing of wages between the employer and the individual employee.

The contest was declared off last week, the shops will be resumed during the present week.

There is no provision in the agreement for the use of the union stamp, which will not be released to the firms for some time to come.

The following is the text of this remarkable document:

Chicago, Ill., June 7, 1904.

Basis of settlement as proposed by the undersigned shoe manufacturers of Chicago and the undersigned representatives of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, subject to ratification by the shoe workers of Chicago in mass meeting assembled.

It is understood that the object of this agreement is to establish a fair condition of labor in the various factories and for the enhancement of the business interests of the shoe industry of this city.

In adjusting prices for labor in the various departments, it is understood that the factories who are party to this agreement shall not be called upon to pay any more than other factories in various parts of the country making a similar grade of work.

1st. The open shop is conceded by the Union.

2nd. The standard of wages in each factory heretofore established or that may be hereafter established between each employer and employee and union is recognized, but in cases where the employees are above the average in skill or capacity, a rate of wages above the standard may be agreed upon between the employer, the employee and the Union or shop's committee, and each manufacturer shall furnish the Union or shop's committee with the names of persons alleged to be below the average in skill and capacity, and for such persons the employer and the employee and the Union or shop's committee shall agree upon the compensation. This is to apply only to persons who work by the day or by the week, and does not apply to piece hands.

The Union agrees upon the following shop rules:

3rd. That fifty-five (55) hours shall constitute a week's work in the factory; that all employees must be at work when the whistle blows in the morning and work until it blows at noon, and again in the afternoon; that no time shall be allowed for washing or any other purpose.

4th. There shall be no extra pay for overtime work except upon the following legal holidays: New Year's day, Memorial day, 4th of July, Labor day, Thanksgiving day and Christmas.

5th. Dressing and toilet rooms shall not be used for lounging and resting places.

6th. That employees must secure passes from the foreman in order to leave the factory during working hours.

7th. That no bundles or other property shall be taken from the shop without being O. K'd by the foreman.

8th. That no person shall be permitted to operate any machinery, except such as they are expressly hired for to operate, except under instructions of the foreman.

9th. Not to accept any short lots, but to notify the foreman of all shortages.

10th. Not to accept any lots which contain damaged shoes.

11th. To show all shoes which they damage or find damaged by others to the foreman.

12th. That they will be charged for all shoes which they damage or for the missing shoes in lots which they pass along. The last operative handling such damaged shoes shall be held responsible and shall be charged for them, at the regular wholesale rates, and that these charges shall be deducted from their wages, and the terms of this regulation (12) are expressly agreed to by all employees, and they hereby consent that the same be a part of their contract of employment.

13th. Employees will be paid on the regular weekly pay day at 5 o'clock, and at no other time.

14th. Any violation of any of the above rules shall be ground for, immediate discharge.

15th. Union business concerning wages and conditions of labor shall be adjusted between each employer and the business agent of the shoe council or a chosen representative or representatives of the council or general union, who shall be acceptable to the employer, except in the case of Florsheim & Co., wages and conditions of labor shall be adjusted between the firm and a committee of three of their own employees.

16th. It is further understood that the General Union, with headquarters at Boston, shall be a party to this agreement, and they shall, upon call of either the local Council or any manufacturer concerned in this agreement, send a representative of the General Union to supervise any question that may require adjustment.

17th. It shall be within the right of any employee to leave his employment, but after having left the factory he has no claim upon the job.

18th. It shall also be within the right of the employer to discharge without interference from the Union, and no demand shall be made for the reinstatement of any person discharged.

The acceptance of the foregoing by a mass meeting of Chicago shoe workers shall make this agreement binding upon the following named firms and their employees, and both sides shall cease hostilities at once and work shall be resumed upon call from each employer.

The agreement shall remain in force until May first, 1905, and shall continue in force thereafter from year to year unless either the General Union or any employer shall give notice to the contracting parties three months before the first of May of any year of their desire to terminate the agreement.

(Signed) J. E. Tilt Shoe Co.
J. P. Smith Shoe Co.
Tilt-Kenney Shoe Co.
Cole-Davis Company.
William Osmer & Co.
Florsheim & Co.
By Milton Florsheim, Pres.

(Signed) John F. Tobin,
George B. Robinson,
Gad Martindale,
For the Union.

Amendment to Section 2.

There is nothing in this section intended to reduce the cost per pair for labor of day work in Chicago, otherwise it is to read with the above addition exactly as originally drawn. The undersigned duly authorized

Continued on 6th page.

The Burning Question of Trades Unionism

By DANIEL DELEON.

Address Delivered on April 21, 1904, In
the New Auditorium Hall, Newark,
N. J.

Workingmen and Workingwomen of
Newark:—

That the Trades Union Question is a burning one is obvious from the space it fills in the public mind, the acrimony of the discussion and the wide divergence of opinion on the subject. Obvious also is the conclusion that a subject that can draw upon itself so much attention, that can produce so much acrimony, and on which opinion takes so many shades—running from extreme and unqualified support through all manner of gradations across the gamut, to extreme and unqualified opposition—cannot choose but be a vital one, and certainly must have a latent something about it that will not go down. Finally, it is obvious that such a question deserves attention—close, serious and sober—and that the solution be grappled with and found. Nor is the task impossible. Despite the widely conflicting views, the solution is not only possible but easy—both possible and easy only by either rising high enough above, or penetrating deep enough below the squabble to enable the inquirer to detect the fact that, despite their being seemingly irreconcilable, the conflicting views have important points of contact. In other words, the solution of the problem depends upon the perception of the fact that there is no real conflict; that what there is is a failure to harmonize views that are supplemental to one another; and that the failure proceeds from the blindness of each side to perceive the element of soundness in the others—a perception without which none can understand the bearings of his own position, and consequently stands stock-fast, impotent—except for suicide.

Before entering upon the analysis of the subject, there is one thing I must request my audience. It is this: To drop, for the present, all recollections of the corruption and dishonesty in the Trade Union Movement that surely will obtrude themselves upon your minds. Need I say that dishonesty plays an important role in the issue? It does. I shall come to that. But for the present I shall eliminate that factor. It can only confuse if taken up now. Leave it out for the present. The actual and important lines of the question being first established, the corruption element will then fall of itself into natural grooves and help to elucidate the principles. Taken now it can only bedevil them. Never forget this—dishonesty in argument is like a creeping plant that needs support; it would collapse and lie prone but for some solid truth around which to wind its tendrils for support. Let's first ascertain the truth.

Nothing so well illustrates the general situation on the fierce discussion that is going on on Trades Unionism as a certain choice poem of our genial New York poet, the late lamented John Godfrey Saxe. Many of you may have heard it, perhaps even learned it by heart on the school benches. All of you can hear it with profit once more:

THE BLIND MEN AND THE ELEPHANT.

It was six men of Indostan
To learning much inclined,
Who went to see the Elephant
(Though all of them were blind),
That each by observation
Might satisfy his mind.

The First approached the Elephant,
And happening to fall
Against his broad and sturdy side,
At once began to bawl:
"God bless me! but the Elephant
Is very like a wall!"

The Second, feeling of the tusk,
Cried, "Ho! what have we here
So very round and smooth and sharp?
To me 'tis mighty clear
This wonder of an Elephant
Is very like a spear!"

The Third approached the animal,
And happening to take
The squirming trunk with his hands,
Thus boldly up and spake:
"I see," quoth he, "the Elephant
Is very like a snake!"

The Fourth reached out his eager hand,
And felt about the knee.

"What most this wonderous beast is like
Is mighty plain," quoth he;
"'Tis clear enough the Elephant
Is very like a tree!"

The Fifth who chanced to touch the ear,
Said: "E'en the blindest man
Can tell what this resembles most:
Deny that fact who can,
This marvel of an Elephant
Is very like a fan!"

The Sixth no sooner had begun
About the beast to grope,
Than, seizing on the swinging tail
That fell within his scope,
"I see," quoth he, "the Elephant
Is very like a rope!"

And so these men of Indostan
Disputed loud and long,
Each in his own opinion
Exceeding stiff and strong,
Though each was partly in the right,
And all were in the wrong!

Why? Why were they all in the wrong? Simply because none could see where the others were right, and consequently, WAS UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND EVEN HIMSELF.

Leaving general illustrations and stepping into the concrete, let us take two or three instances on the question itself.

Take this instance—President Eliot of Harvard says: "The scab is a hero!" President Gompers of the A. F. of L. says: "The scab is a scamp!" (laughter and sneers)—It may need a superhuman effort, but, I pray you exercise it. Repress the thoughts of dishonesty that the mention of these two names must inevitably conjure up to your minds. Let us examine the two utterances, regardless of who made them. They are made. That is enough for our purpose. They seem wholly irreconcilable. Are they, in fact? Let us see:

Here is a shop. What with fines, the intensity of the work demanded and other impositions, the wages are inhumanly low. On top of that a further reduction is inflicted upon the men and they rebel. A strike is on. Presently men who are not striking, but who either occupy other positions in the employer's service and wish to ingratiate themselves with their masters, or who despise Labor, step into the shop and help him out. Such instances occurred in the telegraphers' strike and a shoemakers' strike in New York, and recently when Yale students took the places of striking car drivers in New Haven.—Who will deny that the man who does such a thing is a scab and scamp?

But now, look at this other picture. A number of breweries of this neighborhood and New York had a contract with their employees; the contract expired and the breweries wanted a new contract less favorable to the men. In order to accomplish that they needed the help of the officers of the Union. They obtained it. A contract, that tied the men's hands and left them at the employers' mercy, is drawn up and jammed through the Union partly under false pretences and partly by brute force. Members of the rank and file rebel, and their spokesman, Valentine Wagner, demands an explanation from the officers. He is laid upon fine until the amount has arisen to \$80; as he still remains "insubordinate," and as the officers are in league with the brewery bosses, the man is expelled, thrown out of work as "not being a member of the Union" and left to starve. These facts have all been made public and proved. Thereupon, to the threat that if he dared work in any brewery he would be called a "scab," Valentine Wagner announced that not only would he dare, but that he would deem it an honor to be called a "scab!" (Loud applause)—Who would deny that Valentine Wagner is a hero?

(Prolonged applause.)
Are the two utterances, "The scab is a scamp," and "the scab is a hero" utterly irreconcilable? Evidently not. Evidently they harmonize perfectly. And in perceiving the common ground for both, we are enlightened on what the "scab" is. The "scab" is he who by his voluntary conduct helps to lower the standard of the worker. He who for the pleasure of it, or out of curtnessness to the master, will help to break a strike for better conditions is a "scab" and

nounced free trade unpatriotic. The free trader argued that the tariff was like an artificial mountain raised at the gates of the nation and thereby increasing the cost of goods. "Tear down these mountains" said he, "and prices will decline." This is all true, but we Socialists know that if the artificial mountains of the tariff are removed, prices will go down true enough, but seeing Labor is a merchandise under the capitalist system of production, its own price, wages, must go down along with that of all other merchandise. The advantage, accordingly, of lower prices is lost to the working class. The Republican protectionist argued that it was the duty of government to promote by protecting and protect by promoting the interests of the people. "A tariff," said the Republicans, "protects the country inasmuch as it enables it to differentiate its industries, unchecked by foreign competition." This also is all true, but we Socialists know that if government is to be at all justified it is upon the ground of the protection it affords to the people; and we also know that, under the capitalist system the "people" who count are not the workers but the capitalist shirkers, and consequently, that the advantage to be derived from the theory of protection does not extend to the workers, to the majority of the people. They are left out

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AUSTRALIA.

Credentials Sent to the Delegate of the
Socialist Labor Party of America
by the Australian Socialists.

Australian Socialist League.
Headquarters: 251 Castlereagh Street,
Sydney, State of New South
Wales, Australia.

J. O. Moroney, General Secretary.
May 14, 1904.

To Mr. Henry Kuhn,
National Secretary, Socialist Labor
Party, U. S. A.

Dear Comrade:—At the last Annual Conference of the above league, it was decided to forward to the International Socialist Congress, to be held at Amsterdam next August, a statement of the position of the Socialist movement in Australia, as it will be impossible for us to send a delegate.

It was resolved to entrust the document for presentation to the Congress to the Delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States, which is forwarded under separate cover, together with official letter of authority for your delegate to act in our behalf. We are in full sympathy and accord with the revolutionary and uncompromising S. L. P. and the clear, definite and straight Socialists of the world.

With full confidence that our request will be acceded to, and with best wishes to our American comrades, and our admiration for their brave fight on behalf of the only Socialist daily in the English language—the Daily People,
Yours fraternally,

Jas. O. Moroney,
General Secretary.

[The statement or report mentioned in the above letter, together with the credentials or official letter of authority for the delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America, arrived together with the above at the office of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.]

CHICAGO AND COOK COUNTY, ATTENTION!

The revolutionary Socialists of Cook County are hereby called upon to assemble in the large hall, top floor, 48 Randolph street, City of Chicago, Sunday, June 26th.

This meeting will be held under the auspices of Section Chicago, Socialist Labor Party, and will be called to order promptly at 2 p. m. Don't fail to attend this meeting.

For Section Chicago,
Aug. F. Fiedler, Organizer.

COOK COUNTY CONVENTION.

Members, sympathizers, readers and voters, notice:—

The Socialist Labor Party of Cook County, Illinois, will hold a county convention to nominate a county ticket, and transact such other business as may properly come before it. Said county convention will be held at 48 Randolph street, in the City of Chicago, Sunday, July 3d, and will be called to order at 10 a. m. sharp.

For Section Chicago,
Aug. F. Fiedler, Organizer.

COX AND VEAL'S TOUR.

Rochester, June 25.
Syracuse, June 26.
Schenectady, June 27.
Albany, June 28.
Troy, June 29.
Yonkers, June 30.

CHILD LABOR

WHOLESALE VIOLATION OF LAWS
IN EVERY STATE INVESTIGATED.

Capitalists in This State Have 13,189

Little Wage Slaves under 16 Years
of Age—33,135 in Pennsylvania—Total
of 5 Employed in the South—Children's Health Endangered.

Washington, June 15.—Fresh facts on the wholesale employment of child labor in the United States are presented in a report just made by Hannah R. Sewall to Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor. Of all the States canvassed it is shown that New York is second on the list in the number of children under 16 years of age employed, Pennsylvania being first in this regard, with 33,135. The number employed in New York at the time of the inquiry was 13,189.

Fourteen years is the limit under which it is unlawful to employ children in most of the States. In New York this limit applies in manufacturing and mercantile establishments only during the sessions of the public schools, as children between 12 and 14 years of age can be employed during vacation. The special agent of the Bureau of Labor found that the New York State laws on the subject of child labor were not rigidly adhered to. Many children under 14 years of age were found in factories. One girl had been working nearly a year without a certificate. Two small girls had certificates showing them to be over 14 years of age, but the records at the school they had attended showed them to be less than that age.

From the report of the special agent of the Bureau of Labor it appears that there is much laxity in most States in the enforcement of laws intended to prohibit employment of children below a certain age. The limit is 13 in Pennsylvania, but many children below this tender age were found hard at work in manufacturing establishments. Few of the mine operators are complying with the new Pennsylvania State law, which makes the age at which boys can be employed above ground 14 years instead of 12 years, and under ground 16 years instead of 14, as was the case before the anthracite coal strike. The old law did not require a child applying for employment to present an age certificate, and the new law adds nothing to the old requirement in this respect.

Children as young as 5 years were found working in fruit packing establishments in Southern States. These babies were not under employment, strictly speaking. They helped their mothers, older sisters and brothers, but were kept busily engaged in preparing fruit for packing. The children found in the cotton factories of the South were white, except a very few in two establishments, but colored children were found employed in tobacco factories.

The earnings of child labor range from a trifle over \$2 to \$5 a week. Of all the establishments that were canvassed 30 per cent of the children employed were earning less than \$3 a week, 38 per cent were earning under \$4 a week, 31 per cent were earning \$4 or over a week. The earnings of the largest number were \$3 or under \$4 a week. In Massachusetts alone more than 50 per cent of the children earned \$4 or over, while in Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama more than 50 per cent of the children earned less than \$3. Only in New York and New Jersey did more than 50 per cent earn between \$3 and \$4 a week.

It is reported that the New York law regarding the number of hours children may work each day is not enforced.

A good deal of space is given in the Sewall report to conditions that surround children in their places of labor. It was found that in some industries children were brought in contact with chemical poisons through their occupations. In furniture factories boys were employed as varnishers, and thus compelled to breathe turpentine fumes. In a wall paper factory and in a cloth-printing establishment boys were feeding coloring matter into machines, thus coming in contact with the various poisons in its composition. The whole subject of unsanitary conditions in factory labor, arising out of the nature of the industry and the materials used, is reported as one of grave importance, as affecting not only the welfare of children, but of working people of all ages.

The special agent reports that few

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The Burning Question of Trades Unionism

Continued from page one.

in the cold. The tariffs protect the capitalists against foreign competition but not the workers. The largest floods of foreign labor have been instigated and taken place under Republican "protection" administrations.

Accordingly, while both "free trade" and protection have an element of truth in them, that element is in both cases lost to the people under capitalist rule. It takes Socialism, the Socialist Republic, to harmonize the two opposites. Under the dome of the Socialist Republic the discord between the two principles vanishes, and only the truth remains. Under Socialism the "mountains" of tariffs may be safely removed; the decline in prices will not then drag down Labor's earnings because Labor will have ceased to be merchandise and become a human factor—what it now is only in the speeches of capitalist politicians at election time, and in the sermons of the political persons between election and election. Likewise with regard to protection. The principle of organized mutual protection through government becomes truthful and effective only under Socialism where, there being only one class, the working class, government is truly of, by, and for the people.

It is similarly with the Silver question. The free coinageists denounce the gold standard men as robbers; the gold standard men denounce the free coinageists as bandits—and each was right and both were wrong. As to the free coinageists their theory was that money is a good thing and that the more there is of a good thing the larger is the per capita thereof for the people. We know that right as the premises are, under Capitalism—the conclusions become wrong. There are infinitely more hats, shoes, coats and other good things to-day than thirty years ago in the land; but everybody knows that the workingman's per capita of these good things has not increased. He has remained where he was if not even below, while the increase has gone to the Anna Goulds, the Consuelos Vanderbilts, the international capitalists in short. And we understand the reason why. Under capitalism the workingman being a merchandise, his price (wages) does not depend upon the quantity of good things in existence, but upon the quantity of HIM in the labor market. The same as, regardless of the quantity of money there may be in the money market pork chops will fetch a smaller price if the pork chop market is overstocked, so will the merchandise Labor fetch a smaller price however much money there may be if the Labor market is overstocked. And capitalism does that very thing. Privately-owned improved machinery and concentration of plants ruthlessly displace Labor and overstock the labor market. Thus capitalism renders absurd the premises above mentioned of free coinageism. On the other hand, the gold standard men proceeded from the principle that money is a merchandise and must have value, from which they concluded that the workingman would be robbed unless he was paid with what they call a 100-cent dollar. Here again right as the premises are, capitalism renders the conclusion false. As shown above, Labor being a merchandise it matters nothing what the counter is in which it is paid. Its price depends upon its market value; and it is all one to it whether it gets paid with one 100-cent gold dollar for its day's toil or with two 50-cent silver dollars.

Accordingly while both the free coinage and the gold standard principle have an element of truth in them, under capitalism the truth is lost to the workers. It takes Socialism to harmonize the two. Under Socialism Labor no longer being a merchandise, the more good things it produces the more it has, and the 100-cent dollar ceases to be its merchandise badge, and thereby a fraud upon it.

These two sets of illustrations will suffice. They throw light upon what otherwise is puzzling in modern society, to wit, that correct principles work evil. Free trade and protection are both accompanied with increasing names of prosperity: gold standard and silver standard leave nothing to choose between them for the masses. The same in each is turned into nonsense by capitalist rule; it is Socialism that alone can feed them.

And as the socialist key alone can unlock the secret of this conflict of thought, it is the socialist key alone that can unlock the secret of the conflict of thought with regard to the burning question of trades unionism. Equipped with this key we shall be able to acquire a full grasp of the question at hand, and see the elephant in full with all his members as individuals and not as a jumble of

"rope," "spear," "snake," "wall," "tree" and what other things the blind men of the story took the animal to be.

Let us take two types on the question—both honest—but one holding that the trades union pure and simple is all-sufficient and useful, while the other holds that the trades union is worthless in other words, one holding the trunk of the elephant and claiming he is a snake, the other holding his tail and claiming he is a rope; bring the two together, and both being honest, this dialogue will take place between them:

Anti-Unionist—"Drop your union, it is no good. Smash it!"

Pro-Unionist—"What! my union no good? I am a member of the House-smiths' and Bridgemen's Union, I know what I am talking about. Before we had a union we could barely make two dollars a day. Now that we have a union I make four and sometimes five dollars. Don't tell me the union is no good."

Anti-Unionist—"You are hasty in your judgment. You are judging all the unions by one, and your own union by only one epoch of its existence. I grant that through your union you are now getting two dollars more. But that is only a temporary affair. Exceptional circumstances aided Sam Parks in bringing up your wages. But how long will that last? Look at the other unions, take the census of the men. Without exception earnings are lower. The census itself admits that wages are now lower than they were ten years ago. What happened to the older unions will happen to yours. They were not able to raise the earnings of the working class. Already the day is at hand when your union will be in the same fix. No, it is not true that the union can raise wages, speaking of the union in general."

Pro-Unionist—"Well, that's so. Speaking with union men of other trades, they all say how hard it is for them to get along. Yes, the union cannot raise earnings. But it is a good thing all the same, it can keep wages from declining."

Anti-Unionist—"You are mistaken again. Look over the field. Look below the surface. You will find that, despite the union, earnings go down as a whole. Look at the savage reductions inflicted upon the steel and iron workers. A numerically strong union. Despite the union a savage reduction was made."

Pro-Unionist—"Well, I can't deny that (after a pause), but you must admit that if we had no union the decline would be swifter. Will you deny that the union acts as a brake upon the decline? Would we not be down to the cooling stage to-day if it were not for the union?"

Anti-Unionist—"You have admitted that the union cannot raise wages; you have admitted that it cannot keep wages where they are; and you have admitted that it cannot prevent their reduction. Your last ditch is that it keeps wages from going down AS FAST as they would otherwise go. I'll now drive you out of that ditch. If your theory means anything, it means that the union will last, at least, as a brake. Now you know that periodically men are laid off by the thousands, and hundreds of thousands. thing, it means that the union will act, at least, as a brake. Now you know your union strikes it goes to smash, if it does not strike it melts to smash, so that even as a brake the day is at hand when your union will exist no more."

Pro-Unionist—"You have hit me hard. Perhaps you think you have knocked me out. But you have not. As sure as a man will raise his hand by mere instinct, to shield himself against a blow, so surely will workingmen, instinctively, periodically gather into unions. The Union is the arm that labor instinctively throws up to screen its head."

Unquestionably both the pure and simple Pro-Unionist and the Anti-Unionist are knocked out. They have knocked out each other. The Pro-Unionist's last statement is a knock-out blow to the man who imagines that the Union is a smashable thing. On the other hand, the Anti-Unionist's argumentation, whereby he brings out the fact that the union's claims of potential triumph are false, and that, driven from defeat to defeat, the union can gather for the next defeat only, knocks out the Pro-Unionist. That is to say, the pure and simple Pro-Unionist. In their mutual titration the materials are gathered with which Socialism can build the four-jointed truth. Let us now take the "tail" and "trunk" and "legs" and "ears" and "body" of the elephant as furnished us by these two typical disputants and construct the animal. The disputants' positions will be found to be not inherently irreconcilable, but fully reconcilable.

Starting from the principle, an undeniable one, that the spirit of union-formation is an instinctive one, the question

immediately presents itself, Is there no way by which the instinctive motion of self defence can be rendered effective? Does it follow, that because the man who raises his hand to protect his head from the threatened blow with a crow-bar, has both his arm and his skull crushed, that therefore the instinctive motion of self defence might as well be given up? The question suggests the immediate answer. The answer is no, it does not follow. And the question furthermore indicates what does follow. It follows that the arm which periodically is thrown up in self defence, must arm itself with a weapon strong enough to resist—at least to break the blow. Naval warfare did not end when guns of stronger power were contrived. What followed was that stronger armor plate was contrived for the battleships; nor did naval warfare end there; when battleships became so impregnable contact mines were invented which sink these as if by magic. And so it can be done here. Pro-unionists always talk about the union being a "natural condition." But they forget that so is hair and nails. No sensible man will pull hairs and nails out by the root; but neither would any sensible man say that because hair and nails are natural they must be allowed to grow untrimmed and untended. Pro-unionists always talk about the condition under which the union was born. So are babes born under puny condition. No sensible man would kill the babe because so born; but neither will any sensible man propose to keep the babe forever in the condition under which it was born. That it is a natural growth is an important fact to recognize, but how to improve it is equally important, and that can be done by bringing the above pro and anti-unionist arguments together.

The last anti-unionist argument condenses in itself all the previous ones. It correctly points out that the large displacements of labor render the union futile. It implies unionism in general, but that is a mistake. It is true if applied to unionism as it is to-day, that is to say, in the babe form under which it was born. My point will be made clear if we suggest to both the Pro-unionist and the Anti-unionist that all the members of a trade be enlisted in the union—those at work, those temporarily displaced, and those that may be considered permanently displaced. At the bare thought of such a proposition both the pro-unionist and the anti-unionist will throw up their hands; and both their gestures of hand and face indicate that neither of the two has of the union any but a babe condition notion.

Why will the Pro-Unionist look dismayed at the proposition? He will because he knows that his union is there to give jobs to its members; that none join it but for jobs; and, consequently, that if the applicants exceed the jobs the union would immediately go to pieces, if they are all inside. The notion of the Anti-Unionist is the exact obverse of the Pro-Unionist's notion. And both are right from their standpoint, but their standpoint is wrong, it is as wrong as that of the blind men at the several limbs of the elephant. The thought suggested by the Pro-Unionist's last argument, that the union is like the instinctive motion of the man who raises his arm to protect his head when assailed gives us in hand the method to proceed by.

Instructed upon the nature of the weapon of assault, man will strengthen the arm that he throws up in defence of his head. But the effectiveness of that strengthening depends entirely upon the correctness of his idea of the nature of the instrument of assault. In the babe condition under which the union is born naturally, it has no conception of the nature of the weapon that it instinctively raises up its arm in self defence against. In that natural and original babe condition the union does not realize that its members are merchandise in the present state of society; it does not realize the law that governs the value and price of merchandise; consequently, it does not realize the law that underlies its own value and price, that is, its wages; it does not realize the cause of its degraded merchandise status; it does not realize that its lack of the natural (land) and social (capital) opportunities keep it down; accordingly, it does not realize there is no improvement, let alone salvation, for it so long as it labors under the status of merchandise; finally and most important of all, and as a result of all, it does understand that it cannot improve faster than the rest of the working class. In other words, it does not understand the import of the "solidarity of labor." It matters not what phrases the pure and simple trades-union may use, the fact that none of them would like to-day to see all the members of the trade in the union, the fact that the trades not directly concerned, aye, even those directly concerned, do not rise in indignation when such other trades as the railroaders are found willing to transport militiamen from one end of the country to the other in order to break a strike—these facts dem-

onstrate that the meaning of the word solidarity is a closed book to the Pro-Unionist. On the other hand the Anti-Unionist is utterly mistaken when he proceeds from the theory that this closed book is to remain closed; in other words, that the union can never rise above its babe state of natural birth; in other words, that the union is useless. Leaving for later on the feature of the remote utility of the union, in fact its real revolutionary and historic mission, let us be first clear upon the fundamental error, that odd enough to say, both the pure and simple Pro-Unionist and the Anti-Unionist stand.

The honest Pro-Unionist frankly admits that the best he can expect of his union is to act as a brake on the decline. In other words he admits that the union only serves as a rear guard to a retreating army. Obviously from that standpoint the Anti-Unionist's position is impregnable when he holds that the rear guard of a retreating army which can do nothing but retreat is a futile thing. But equally obvious is the fact that the whole strength of the Anti-Unionist position lies in the babe original condition that the union has remained in. The point need but be made and it will be accepted by every thinking man that all the reasons which the Anti-Unionist advances why the union is bound to go to smash through the displacement of labor will fall flat the moment the union gets out of its natural, original babe condition, realizes that it not only endangers the future but that it also loses the present by turning itself into a job's providing machine. Even if the union cannot grasp its great historic and revolutionary mission, it certainly must for the sake of the immediate present be supposed to be willing to adapt its methods, not to the babe, but the adult conditions of capitalism. Capitalism displaces labor; capitalism needs a large army of idle and reserve labor for the periods of industrial expansion. By constituting itself a job's furnishing institution the union turns itself into a pint measure into which it is impossible for the gallon measure of labor to be received. And thus it is not only the capitalist, from in front, but Labor, from behind, that triturates the union. In order to be able to contain the gallon measure of labor the union must expand to gallon size; in order to expand to gallon size it must drop its idle aspirations as a job-furnishing monopoly. And this can be done only if it rises to the elevation of its political mission. Then will it understand the solidarity of its class generally and of the members of its trade in particular. Even if as many as 50,000 out of a trade of 100,000 members cannot be provided for with jobs, the union could do better by taking them all in. But this sounds like a purely chimerical idea under the general babe condition notions that exist. The chimera, however, becomes possible if the members are all tutored to understand that the best the union can do for them to-day is to check the decline and preventing it from going as fast as it otherwise would. Not in the long run, but all along would such a union fare at least as well as it fares to-day, besides being in a condition to actually fulfil its great revolutionary historic mission that I have all along been alluding to.

What is that great historic revolutionary mission? It must be admitted that however philosophic, possibly even Socialist, the Anti-Unionist may pronounce himself, he is on this subject not a bit more enlightened than the Pro-Unionist. It is to me surprising to find men who call themselves Socialists, and who reason socialistically up to a certain point, suddenly go to pieces when they touch the Union question. They take certain facts into consideration, these facts correctly point to the eventual destruction of the Union, and from these they conclude that the Union might as well be smashed now as later. They fail to consider all the facts in the case. They are the real utopians of to-day who imagine the Socialist Commonwealth can be established like spring establishes itself through its balmy atmosphere, and without effort melts away the winter snows. These anti-union utopians only see the political feature of the labor movement. According to them all that a lance would need is its iron head; on the other hand, the Pro-Unionists have their noses so close to the ground that they fail to see the political aspect of the trades union movement, and can only see what they call its industrial aspect. In other words, they virtually hold that all that a lance would need is its shaft. It goes without saying that neither he who thinks a lance is all iron-head, nor he who thinks that it is all shaft has a correct idea of what a lance is, or what its uses are: Each may have a technical, theoretic, more or less practical knowledge of each particular part of a lance, but a lance neither of them will have, nor can wield. I shall show you that unless the political aspect of the labor movement is grasped, Socialism will never triumph; and that unless its trades union aspect is grasped the day of

its triumph will be the day of its defeat.

Who of you has not heard some workingman when told that some fellow workingman of his was nominated for Mayor, or for Governor, or for Congress, sneeringly say: "What's he? What could he do in Congress? What does he know about law? Why, he wouldn't know how to move!" (Laughter.) The matter is serious, it is no laughing matter. The workingman who utters himself in that way is right and he is wrong. He is absolutely right when he considers that the workingman is not a fit man to handle the laws of the land; but he is wrong when he considers that that is a disqualification. In other words, he is wrong in supposing that the political mission of labor is to dabble with or tinker upon capitalist laws. And mark you his blunder proceeds direct both from the Pro-Unionist industrial mental attitude and from the Anti-Unionist's political mental attitude. In this respect is realized into what errors the political Anti-Unionist drops in his own domain of politics, and into what error the industrial Pro-Unionist drops in his own industrial domain—due to the circumstance that both fail to realize that their various domains dovetail into each other.

Open any law book, whatever the subject be—contract, real estate, aye, even marital relations, husband and wife, father and son, guardian and ward—you will find that the picture they throw upon the mind's canvas is that of everyone's hands at everyone's throat. Capitalist law reflects the material substructure of capitalism. The theory of that substructure is war, conflict, struggle. It can be no otherwise. Given the private ownership of natural and social opportunities, society is turned into a jungle of wild beasts, in which the "fittest" wild beast terrorizes the less "fit," and these in turn imitate among themselves the "fit" qualities of the biggest brute. No nuptial veils of lace or silk can conceal this state of things on the matrimonial field; no rhetoric can hide it on any other field. The raw-boned struggle is there. It is inevitable. It is a shadow cast by the angles of fact of the capitalist system. Now then, is it the mission of the labor of Socialist movement to continue or to uproot the material conditions that cast the shadow? Its mission is to uproot it. Consequently its mission cannot be to tinker at the laws that capitalism finds it necessary to enact. As well say that a housekeeper is unfit to clean a neglected house because she has no technical knowledge of the construction of the vermin that has been rioting in it, as to say that, because Labor has no knowledge of the technique of the vermin of capitalist laws, it is unfit to take the broom-handle, and sweep the vermin into the ash barrel of oblivion. (Applause.) Accordingly the political aspect of the labor movement spells REVOLUTION. It points out exactly the duty of the Socialist or class-conscious workingmen elected to office—no tinkering, no compromise, unqualified overthrow of existing laws. That means the dethronement of the capitalist class. And what does that, in turn, mean with regard to the subject in hand?

Did you notice and did you realize all that there was in the capitalist threat of closing down the shops and stopping production if Bryan was elected in 1896? We know that Bryan was a reactionary capitalist; nevertheless, the fact was brought out in his campaign by that upper-capitalist threat that the ruling capitalists have it in their power to create a panic any time the government slips from their hands. What places that power in their hands? Now watch close, think close—WHAT PLACES THAT POWER IN THEIR HANDS IS THE PURE AND SIMPLE TRADES UNION: it is the fact that the WORKING CLASS is not organized. And I have shown you that the pure and simple trades union is unable to organize the working class; that it keeps the working class hopelessly divided. The majority of the voters are workingmen. But even if this majority were to sweep the political field on a class-conscious, that is, a bona fide labor or Socialist ticket, they would find the capitalist able to throw the country into the chaos of a panic and of famine unless they, THE WORKINGMEN, WERE SO WELL ORGANIZED IN THE SHOPS THAT THEY COULD LAUGH AT ALL SHUT-DOWN ORDERS, AND CARRY ON PRODUCTION. Such a complete organization is impossible under pure and simple trades union methods; being impossible on the industrial field the seeming unity that swept the political field would be a flash in the pan. Political organization must necessarily partake to-day of capitalist conditions, accordingly the votes cast for a Congressman, for instance, are not the votes of any one trade, but of a mixture of scores of trades. Civilized society will know no such ridiculous thing as geographic constituencies. It will only know industrial constituencies. The parliament of civilization is Am-

Continued on page 2.

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The Burning Question of Trades Unionism

Continued from page two.

rica will consist, not of Congressmen from geographic districts, but of representatives of trades throughout the land, and their legislative work will not be the complicated one which a society of conflicting interests, such as capitalists, requires, but the easy one which can be summed up in the statistics of the wealth needed, the wealth producible, and the work required—and that any average set of workmen's representatives are fully able to ascertain, infinitely better than our modern rhetoricians in Congress. But we are not there yet, nor will we be there the day we shall have swept the political field. We shall not be there for the simple reason that in order to get there through that first political victory we shall have been compelled to travel along the lines of capitalist political demarcations; and these I have shown you are essentially non-unionist, that is to say, they ignore industrial bonds and recognize only geographic ones. It follows, that, to-day, the very best of political organization is wholly exclusive of industrial organization, and will have to continue so until the political victory has been won, and the trades organizations have been able to continue production in the teeth of capitalist revolt, until the nation shall have had time to reconstruct itself upon the Labor—that is, the Socialist basis.

Thus we see that the head of the lance of the Socialist Movement is worthless without the shaft. We see that they are not even parallel, but closely connected affairs; we see that the one needs the other, that while the head—the political movement—is essential in its way, the shaft of the lance—the industrial movement—is requisite to give it steadiness. The Labor Movement that has not a well pointed political lance-head can never rise above the babe condition in which the union is originally born; on the other hand, unhappy the political movement of Labor that has not the shaft of the trades union organization to steady it. It will inevitably become a freak affair. The head of the lance may "get there," but unless it drags in to take the strong shaft of the trades union it will have "got there" to no purpose.

Accordingly, the trades union question is indeed a burning one. On it is pivoted the success of the Socialist Movement. And for the reasons I have indicated the confusion on the subject is inevitable. Seeing that a thing called a union may act as a drag upon the Socialist Movement, the temptation is strong upon the part of anti-unionists to drop it. I have shown you how fatal such dropping would be. The political and the industrial movement are one, he who separates them dislocates the Socialist Movement.

I should not close without some concrete advice. Should we join unions? Should we not join them? It seems to me these concrete questions stand answered by what I have said before. Nevertheless, he in whose mind such a question still arises is led thereby to the thought of the corrupt practices that exist in unions. I shall take up that point summarily. It now can be handled without giving it undue proportions. It now may even be handled to advantage and help to clinch previous points.

There is no difference between what is called the corruption in the unions and what is noticed in shipwrecks when men become cannibals. I cannot now think of any of the numerous corrupt labor leaders, whom we all know of, who did not start honest enough. But coupled to his honesty was IGNORANCE. He knew not the kind of a weapon that Labor instinctively raises its arm to ward off when it shapes itself into unions. He failed, of course. He then imputed the failure to inevitableness. The capitalist helped him along. He lost all hope in the working class. He then decided to feather his own nest. Friendly relations between him and capitalist thought followed inevitably, and he became what Mark Hanna so well called him—the labor lieutenant of the capitalist class. In that capacity we have seen him act as an agent of the stock exchange starting strikes to lower stock, or keeping up strikes to favor competing concerns. Of course, he could not do this if the rank and file of the union were enlightened. For this reason it was in his interest and in the interest of the class whose lieutenant he is, to keep enlightenment from the masses. Frequently also his position enables him to compel the workmen of his trade to accept his yoke before they can get work. He who sees remedy this evil by any one

means holds a silly language. The evil must be attacked by as many means as seem available. Shall we then "join unions"? The Socialist Labor Party has answered the question by endorsing the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and by waging unflinching war against the Gompers pack; and the answer that the Party gave is justified by the light of the analysis that I have submitted to you. That analysis shows you that trades organizations are essential; they are essential to break the force of the onslaught of the capitalist, but this advantage is fruitful of good only in the measure that the organization prepares itself for the day of final victory. Accordingly it must be every Socialist's endeavor to organize his trade. If there is an organization of his trade in existence that is not in the hand of a labor lieutenant of capital, he should join it and wheel it into line with the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. If, however, the organization is entirely in the hand of such a labor lieutenant of capital; if its membership is grown so fast to him and he to them, that the one can not be shaken from the other; if, accordingly, the organization, obedient to the spirit of capitalism, insists upon dividing the working class by barriers more or less high and chicanery against the admission of all the members of the trade who apply for admission; if his grip of mental corruption upon it is such as to cause a majority of its members to applaud and second his endeavors to keep that majority at work at the sacrifice of the minority within and of the large majority of the trade without—in that and in all such cases, such an organization is not a limb of the Labor Movement, it is a limb of capitalism (Applause); it is a GUILD; it is a degeneration back to the old starting point of the bourgeois or capitalist class; and though it decks itself with the name of "Labor" it is but a caricature, because a belated reproduction, of the old guild system! Such a bizarre resurrection of pristine bourgeois organizations may mask itself all it likes with the mask of "Labor," but it does so only to the injury of the working class, of the proletariat, and it deserves no quarter at the Socialist's hands. (Loud applause.)

Such an organization is no more a labor organization than is the army of the Czar of Russia, which, though composed wholly of workmen, is officered by the exploiting class. In such a case the Socialist must endeavor to set up a bona fide Labor trades union and to do what he can to smash the fraud. The Labor cannot that one day will surely decimate the Czar's army, and defeat it, will bring redemption even to the workmen in that army, although many of them may be killed by it. (Prolonged applause.)

Let me sum up, starting with where I closed. In the first place, the trades union has a supreme mission. That mission is nothing short of organizing by uniting, and uniting by organizing, the whole working class industrially—not merely those for whom there are jobs, accordingly, not only those who can pay dues. This unification or organization is essential in order to save the eventual and possible political victory from bankruptcy, by enabling the working class to assume and conduct production the moment the guns of the public powers fall into its hands—or before, if need be, if capitalist political chicanery pollutes the ballot box. The mission is important also in that the industrial organization forecasts the future constituencies of the parliaments of the Socialist Republic.

In the second place, the trades union has an immediate mission. The supreme mission of trades unionism is ultimate. That day is not yet. The road thither may be long or short, but it is arduous. At any rate, we are not yet there. Steps in the right direction, so-called "immediate demands," are among the most precarious. They are precarious because they are subject and prone to the lure of the "sop" or the "palliative" that the foes of Labor's redemption are ever ready to dangle before the eyes of the working class, and at which, aided by the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, the unwary are apt to snap—and be hooked. But there is a test by which the bait can be distinguished from the sound step, by which the trap can be detected and avoided, and yet the right step forward taken. That test is this: DOES THE CONTEMPLATED STEP SQUARE WITH THE ULTIMATE AIM? If it does, then the step is sound and safe; if it does not, then the step is a trap and disastrous. The "immediate step" that sets like a brake on the decline of wages belongs to the former

category, provided only the nature of the brake is not such that it inevitably invites a future decline, that requires a further brake and which brake only invites some later decline, and so on, towards a catastrophe or towards final cooledom. We have seen that the pure and simple trades union belongs to the latter category, the category of "traps," and we have seen the reason why—it is merely a jobs' securing machine, consequently it inevitably renders the working class in twain, and, on the whole, has the love and affection of the capitalist exploiter."

* Since this address was delivered, the "Switchmen's Union Journal" furnished editorially an unlooked for admission of all that is said above. The editor of the journal, referring to the adverse criticism that poured in upon him for recommending political activity to the members, says:

"One brother advises: 'Pay more attention to your organization and leave politics alone. Your organization is the only medium whereby your wages have been increased and conditions bettered.'"

"This is, verbatim, literatim et punctatim, what the wily politician has forever been whispering in the ear of Labor."

"You can see the corpulent, rotund figure of capital bent over whispering to the lean, lanky, half-fed, half-clothed toiler, 'Keep out of politics!'"

Here we have it all in a nutshell:—the claim of "increased wages and bettered conditions" is punctured by the description of the toiler as "lanky, half-fed, half-clothed"; and the "corpulent, rotund figure of capital" as "bending over and whispering" to the workman him thus glibly declaiming? (Uproarious laughter.) Why, they'll say he is a hypocrite; they'll denounce him roundly for preaching one thing and practicing another. They will even bring charges against him. And if his organization is really a Socialist organization he will be expelled and justly so. But even if it does not come so far, he will have discovered that a Socialist party cannot play ostrich on the economic or trades union question. If it is a party of Socialism, it is a party of Labor. In a party of Socialism the trades union is latent. It cannot be ignored. It will not ignore you. (Loud applause.)

"But suppose," I went on to say, "that, feeling a presentiment of what is in store for him if he votes to admit them into his party organization, he votes to keep them out. What will he have done then? He will have impressed upon his political organization, which wants large numbers, the characteristics of the backward pure and simple union with which he blandly floats along—an evidence that the trades union question is bound to assert itself." Was not that the answer I gave you friend? With what face can you, then, come here to-night and ask the question that you did?

There is no such thing as a political party of Labor "having nothing to do with the Unions." It has. It must either inspire the union with the broad political purpose, and thus dominate it by warring on the labor fakir and on the old guild notions that hamstring the Labor Movement, or it is itself dragged down to the selfish trade interests of the economic movement, and finally drawn down into the latter's sub-servience to the capitalist interests that ever fasten themselves to the selfish trade interests on which the labor fakir, or labor lieutenant of the capitalist class, thrives."

* Since this address was delivered and the above answer made, a further striking proof has been furnished. What the Civic Federation is, need not here be enlarged upon. It is enough to note the fact that it is a palpable manifestation of the labor-lieutenancy of the Gompers trades union officials to the capitalist class. Now, then, at the late Chicago convention of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, party, held on May 1, 1904, Mr. Ott, the delegate from Wyoming, introduced the following resolution:

"The Socialist Party also wishes to denounce before the workers of this land the treacherous, deceitful work of the conglomeration between several labor leaders, so-called, and the captains of industry, such as the National Civic Federation, and other like institutions, and brand these combinations as instruments of the capitalist class to perpetuate the system of to-day, and to use organized labor as tools for that purpose."

This was sound. But the resolution was unceremoniously brushed aside. The speeches made against it plainly indicated that the said so-called Socialist Party could live only on condition that it bowed before the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, and, significant enough, the speaker who was most pointed in his remarks of respect for the labor lieutenants of capitalism, Mr. Ben. Hanford, a beneficiary through Union jobs of the guild form of pure and simple Unionism,

with the trades unions. Affiliation with trades unions keeps the Party back. A political party wants to take in as many people as possible. It wants to be as large as possible. A union does not. I am a member of a union, the Silver Polishers, and I am also a Socialist. My union had a meeting this afternoon; all that they want is to get higher wages and to keep all others of the trade out. They adopted a resolution along this line, and I voted with them in the interest of the organization. Now, their position, like that of all unions, is purely selfish. What has the Socialist Labor Party to do with such things? It should keep its hands off. If it does not it will suffer."

My answer was this: "The gentleman furnishes me with the very facts that overthrow him. He is a member of a trades union that wishes to keep out applicants. What would be his fix in a Socialist party? Say his Socialist organization is in session in the evening and the men whom he, along with the other members of his trades union, refused admission in the afternoon, knock at the door applying for membership. What will he do? He correctly stated that a political party needs numbers. He will have to admit them into his Socialist party organization. And what will happen when those men come in and hear him making a grand eloquent speech on the 'solidarity of labor,' on the 'necessity of workmen to unite,' on the 'brotherhood of the wage slave' and on all those things that a Socialist, a good Socialist, as the gentleman says he is, is bound to emphasize? What do you think will happen, when the men whom he has just voted to keep out of his union hear him thus glibly declaiming? (Uproarious laughter.) Why, they'll say he is a hypocrite; they'll denounce him roundly for preaching one thing and practicing another. They will even bring charges against him. And if his organization is really a Socialist organization he will be expelled and justly so. But even if it does not come so far, he will have discovered that a Socialist party cannot play ostrich on the economic or trades union question. If it is a party of Socialism, it is a party of Labor. In a party of Socialism the trades union is latent. It cannot be ignored. It will not ignore you. (Loud applause.)

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This was sound. But the resolution was unceremoniously brushed aside. The speeches made against it plainly indicated that the said so-called Socialist Party could live only on condition that it bowed before the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, and, significant enough, the speaker who was most pointed in his remarks of respect for the labor lieutenants of capitalism, Mr. Ben. Hanford, a beneficiary through Union jobs of the guild form of pure and simple Unionism,

became the party's nominee for Vice-President. The Ott resolution was cast off, and in its stead another resolution was adopted in exactly the contrary sense. What the adoption of this other resolution meant may be gathered from the utterance of the minority that was thus jumped upon. The Butte, Mont., "American Labor Union Journal" (an S. P. paper) of May 26, 1904, commenting upon the victorious resolution that substituted its Ott resolution, and after enumerating the powerful arguments made against the substitute, proceeds to say:

"The men who spoke in support of the resolution [the substitute] from Ben. Hanford to Hilquit did not attempt to reply to these arguments. They kept up a constant reiteration of the charges that those who opposed the resolution are opposed to trades unions, which was a thousand miles from the truth, the facts being that the opposition was not to trades union indorsement, but to the kind of trades unionism it was sought to indorse. AS IT STANDS THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS COMMITTED TO SCAB HERDING, organization of dual unions, misleading of the working class, the expenditure of union funds to defeat Socialist candidates, the segregation of the working class into craft units which are powerless to accomplish anything AND IT HAS BEEN COMMITTED TO THIS BECAUSE A FEW AMBITIOUS EASTERN COMRADES WERE ANXIOUS TO MAKE THINGS PLEASANT FOR THEMSELVES IN THE PURE AND SIMPLE UNIONS."

The notion implied in the words of our friend who asked the question, the notion that NUMBERS is the important thing and not SOUNDNESS, often leads to bizarre results. A recent instance is striking. At the late annual convention of Gompers' A. F. of L. Max Hayes, of the said so-called Socialist Party, introduced a Socialist resolution. The resolution was moved under by a veritable avalanche of something like 11,000 votes. About a month later, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance held its annual convention. The S. T. & L. A. is a trades union built strictly upon the Socialist lines of the resolution which Max Hayes introduced in Boston. But the S. T. & L. A. is a very much smaller body. At its annual convention it numbered barely 20 delegates. Now, then, what do we find Mr. Max Hayes saying about the S. T. & L. A. convention? She ridiculed it on account of its numbers! She, who had just been flattened out like a pancake by a huge anti-Socialist convention, seemed proud of having been in a big crowd; and peeping from under the numerous heels that trampled upon her, she had jeers only for the smallness of the body that nevertheless upheld the principles which, in her hand, lay flattened out beside her, flattened out by a numerous body! Such are the fruits, the mental somersaults, of a chase after numbers.

It is nothing short of idiocy! The head of the lance that rushes forward shaftless, rushes forward uselessly. It should move no faster than its shaft. The "Socialist" party that dances to the fiddle of Labor-dividing pure and simple, may for a while get more votes than the Socialist Labor Party; but it never will "get there"; a miss is as good as a mile on the "get there" run. Moreover, the slower going S. L. P., that is not a fly-paper concern, and never sacrifices sense for votes, is a real educator. When the time for votes shall have ripened that party will have them—will have the votes, plus the requisite knowledge—while the S. P. will have melted away, seeing it only had votes, and could not possibly, in view of its contradictory and fly-paper conduct, have MEN back of its vote. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

By John J. Kinneally—We see what is going on in Colorado to-day. Pure and simple unionism is said to have over 2,000,000 members. I wish to ask the speaker if he thinks such outrages would be possible if those 2,000,000 were in the S. T. & L. A.?

Answer—2,000,000 S. T. & L. A. men would mean 2,000,000 men swayed by S. L. P. sense, vigor, manliness and determination. It would mean 2,000,000 men moving, because they felt, as one man, and consequently, feeling and moving right. Large masses can not feel and move as one if they are in error. Error is manifold; it scatters. Truth only is one-fold, it alone unites. Such a number as 2,000,000 S. L. P. men in the land would produce such a sentiment and resulting action that capitalism would melt like wax. (Prolonged applause.) The thing, then, is to build up S. L. P. MEN. Let that be all serious men's endeavor. (Applause.)

DETROIT AGITATION MEETINGS. Section Detroit, Mich., will hold outdoor agitation meetings every Saturday, beginning at 8 p. m., at the corner of Michigan and Washington avenues.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888.....2,068
In 1892.....21,157
In 1896.....35,364
In 1900.....34,191
In 1902.....53,763

Machinery, considered alone, shortens the hours of labor, but, when in the service of Capital, lengthens them; in itself it lightens labor, but, employed by Capital, heightens the intensity of labor; in itself it is a victory of man over the forces of nature, but, in the hands of Capital makes man the slave of those forces; in itself it increases the wealth of the producers, but in the hands of Capital makes them paupers.—Marx.

BEHIND THE SCENES.

Invaluable at this season, when orderly and peaceful workmen are being forcibly deported out of the State of Colorado, if they are not murdered outright, and legally elected and appointed officials are being "deposed" by Sherman M. Bell, private employee of the Independence mine at Cripple Creek, and while the Republican, Democratic and Mugwump press is infamously libeling the victims as bandits, and praising the uniformed bandits as heroes of civilization—invaluable at such a season is the pamphlet entitled "Behind the Scenes," compiled in September of last year by a Colorado wage slave, and published by the Socialist Labor Party—the bogus concern known as the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, party not daring to touch and keeping silent over so red hot a collection of documents, that place the hot seal of CRIME upon the brow of Colorado capitalism in particular, of the whole land in general.

The pamphlet in question bears the felicitous and, to-day we should say, prophetic sub-title of "Where Passes and Strike-Breaking Militia Kiss." It is a compilation of autograph letters, with their autograph signatures, between railroad officials at Denver, Colo., and Colorado officials, from the present Gov. Peabody and his Adj.-Gen. Sherman M. Bell, down to judges, etc., furnishing passes, contrary to law, and acknowledging receipt thereof.

On page 15 of the pamphlet is a letter, dated May 12, 1903, of Teller & Dorsey, the attorneys of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, to W. R. Kelly, the General Solicitor in Omaha, Neb., setting forth that "Sherman M. Bell, Adjutant General of the State," requested a pass over the lines, and recommending that the same be issued to him—on what ground?—on the ground that "THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL IS IN A POSITION TO BE OF BENEFIT TO THE RAILROAD COMPANY IN CASE OF LABOR TROUBLES OR SIMILAR OCCURRENCES." And on page 17 will be found a letter issued from the Adjutant-General's Office, on its official paper, bearing date of May 27, that is only fifteen days later, acknowledging receipt of the pass, and SIGNED WITH THE GENTLEMAN'S AUTOGRAPH SIGNATURE OVER HIS OFFICIAL TITLE.

Who will dare deny that Adjutant-General Sherman M. Bell is a hero of "law and order"? What a thesis for a stirring campaign speech on "law and order" do not these two documents furnish the Bourke Cochran of the Democratic party and the Roosevelt of the Republican party—particularly when they want to make a point against Socialism!

THE RANK OF AMERICAN LABOR.

"As the statistic thinks it like" is the proverb grown out of the experience of the jugglery with figures, known as "statistical computations." But there is so much truth at the basis of statistics, that jugglery as the capitalist statistics may in their mutual conflicts damaging facts ever be revealed. William J. Clark's performances are the latest illustration in point. And the free trade capitalist papers who have acted as his resounding board have added volume to the illustration.

William J. Clark is the manager of the foreign trade of the General Electric Company; he furnished an article in the "Engineering Magazine" entitled "A Comparison of American and European Commercial Trade." The purpose of the article is to show that America itself is by far the best market of the world

for manufactured products. In other words, the statistic Mr. Clark being a free trader, he clicks anti-protection statistics. But in so clicking he kicks to pieces the platform on which both his free traders and the protectionists stand—he kicks to pieces their joint capitalist pretences regarding the superior welfare of the working class of America, and he does so obedient to the law that says: Successful lying on a large scale transcends human power. Here are free trade statistic Clark's own figures.

Mr. Clark places the average annual compensation of the wage earner in European factories at \$170, and in the United States at \$340, accordingly, he tries to make out that the latter earn twice as much as the former. But forgetting all about that, he proceeds to give the figures for the value of products per wage earner in various countries, and then the per capita of consumption by countries—and what a picture do these figures present!

The value of the product per wage earner in the United States is given at \$2,450, and seeing that the wage earner's wages are given at \$340, it follows that the American workman receives 13.87 per cent of his product. Now taking Germany as the leading continental country of Europe we find Mr. Clark's figures to be \$460 as the value of the product per wage earner; and seeing that \$170 is the figure he gives for wages, it follows that the German workman receives 36.95 per cent of his product, or MORE THAN 23 PER CENT. above his fellow American wage slave!

But this is not all. Mr. Clark's figures on the per capita of consumption per nation shows that the total consumption in America amounts to \$12,885,609,203 (a huge figure! is it not?), and that the per capita is \$160, while in Germany the total consumption is only \$4,182,450,000 (much less! is it not!), and the per capita \$74. But, again, what do these figures conceal to the casual eye, yet reveal to the inquirer? They reveal that the per cent of per capita consumption in America is only .000,000,013, while in Germany it is .000,000,017,8! In other words, with a much larger amount of total consumption, the per cent of American consumption is .000,000,004,7 per cent. less than in Germany!

In other words, free trade may be more profitable to capitalists, or protection may be more advantageous to capitalists, but in either and in both cases the American workman is plundered to an infinitely greater extent than his German brother. And Mr. Clark's figures for the other nations show that the American workman ranks at the top of the list of the plundered proletariat of the world.

Let the Clarks and the Anti-Clarks, the free trade and the protectionist capitalists juggle with their figures all they like and scratch each other's faces; the workman has his own row to hoe, and that is to mop the earth with both.

GOMPERS IN HIDING.

The rifles of rough-rider-led bandits crack in Colorado, and at each crack a workman drops, shot in the back. Where is "Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor," who habitually in fair weather stands up on his hind legs and claims to "speak for the American working class"?—In hiding!

The eight-hour law, for which Gompers perennially lobbies in Washington, and which was constitutionally adopted in Colorado, is being riddled with the bullets of capitalist bandits, and judges and other officials who seek to uphold the law, are given the alternative of hanging or resigning. Where is "Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor," who habitually in fair weather stands up on his hind legs and claims to "speak for the American working class"?—In hiding!

Unarmed workmen are "deported," "exiled," and "dumped" out of the State in Colorado—new and unheard-of methods, unknown to the law of the land—because they refuse to go to work and earn the salary for Roosevelt's nasty pet the rough-rider Sherman M. Bell, who, along with Roosevelt "triumphantly marched up San Juan Hill" where no politics interfered. Where is "Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor," who habitually in fair weather stands up on his hind legs and claims to "speak for the American working class"?—In hiding!

Workmen on strike for better conditions are being arrested on trumped up charges and sentenced to long terms WITH THE ALTERNATIVE OF WORKING TWO DAYS IN THE MINES, that yield the profits, that pay the salary of the coward rough-rider Sherman M. Bell, and, refusing to be thus rough-ridden, are dynamited. Where is "Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor," who habitually in fair weather stands up on his hind legs and claims to "speak for the American working class"?—In hiding!

It is now fully thirteen years that the

Socialist Labor Party has been warning the American working class against this preposterous lump of turpitude, who fattens in even tempo as his capitalist principals fatten, while the American working class, whom he and his principle of Unionism misrepresent and leave with breasts and backs bare to the capitalist bullets, steadily have been sinking in welfare! It is now fully thirteen years that the Socialist Labor Party has been pointing to the coward, the ignoramus, the wind-bag, the self-seeking Gompers as a traitor to the working class. Where is he now?

In hiding! Waiting till the clouds roll by!

The emancipation of the working class means revolution. That revolution is predicated upon a previous one—upon the revolution in Labor's mind that will dump scab herding Gompersism.

Events have ripened the ulcer. Its putridity is now hiding; it must not be allowed to hide by scattering back into the system; it has come to a head—lance it!

THE A. F. OF L. AND COLORADO.

Recent press despatches from Colorado contain many facts of importance to the American working class. According to these despatches General Bell, commanding officer in charge of the militia at Victor, declared, anent the deportation of "objectionable persons":

"One deportation after another will be made until there is no one left WHO IS PERSONA NON GRATA WITH THE ALLIANCE AND THE MINE OWNERS. WE INTEND TO CONTINUE ARRESTING MEN WHO ARE NOT WANTED HERE, AND WITH THE OTHERS THEY WILL BE RUN OUT OF THE DISTRICT AS FAST AS POSSIBLE."

Continuing on the same subject, and referring to the closing of the Portland mine, General Bell further declared:

"It is a military necessity. THEY ARE MEN AGAINST WHOM CRIMES CANNOT BE SPECIFIED; but their presence is regarded as dangerous to law and order. THE PORTLAND MINE WAS CLOSED TO PREVENT UNION MEN CONTRIBUTING TO LAWLESS STRIKERS."

It does not require a keen mind to note from the above that the Citizens' Alliance and the mine owners, backed by the militia, do not intend to observe any law, or to tolerate any persons or conditions detrimental to their criminal efforts to extirpate the Western Federation of Miners, kill the 8-hour agitation, and increase their profits and dividends. To the dullest mind the above shows that the Citizens' Alliance and the mine owners will only brook such persons, organizations and circumstances, as are favorable to their iniquitous designs.

These self-evident facts being made doubly evident, the following statement from the same despatches is now in order:

"THE CITIZENS' ALLIANCE HAS RELIEVED MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR FROM ITS PROSCRIPTION AGAINST UNIONISTS. THIS WILL PERMIT EMPLOYMENT OF UNION PRINTERS, PRESSMEN, STEREOTYPERS, AND SEVERAL OTHER CLASSES OF WORKMEN."

Need more be said?

ANOTHER HEATON TO THE GOD CAPITAL.

Civilized humanity once more stands aghast. Hardly recovered from the shock of the Iroquois disaster, it is appalled by the news of the awful calamity aboard the General Slocum, an excursion boat, which, laden mainly with women and children, was burned on the Sound, amid heartrending scenes and a loss of life footing well up into the thousand mark. Where yesterday all was joy and gladness over the prospect of a day of pleasure, to-day, with whole families wiped out, all is mourning and sorrow, while a shocked community asks "who is responsible?" and sets about to bring the responsible parties to book, fully confident that such a course will prove a deterrent to the carelessness that is alleged to be the cause of this and similar disasters. Already has the captain of the ill-fated craft been signalled out as the scapegoat, just as in the Iroquois, the Park avenue tunnel, and other disasters of a like kind, blameless wage workers have been compelled to bear the brunt. But is he really to blame? And will his conviction bring the desired result? No; decidedly, No! The blame and the remedy are to be sought elsewhere and differently applied!

Modern industrial and commercial activities are so grouped that they compel the herding of large masses of human beings in large cities. The capitalists may declare that Socialism will crush individuality; but the fact is that it is the big cities of capitalism that do that. Nay, they crush life as well. The masses of human beings thus herded are compelled to seek pleasure and recreation en masse. Devoid of the means to retire at leisure to the country with a chosen few, there to enjoy the beauties of woodland and

field which are denied to them and for which they yearn, without the wealth to build palatial yachts on which they may take some "choice" companions on cruises in waters of whose charms they have read and dreamed, the herded masses of the cities are compelled to gratify their desires by embarking on cheap excursions in which the craft is not of the best, the risks of danger great, and the loss of life, in case of accident, like that on the General Slocum, terrible! On top of this, and hovering like a vampire above it all, is an idle capitalist class who exploit the activities of the cities, and the desires of the population of the latter, in a manner conducive only to their profits, and without any regard for the general welfare. Accordingly the cause of the Slocum disaster is inherent in our social system and can only be remedied when the system is remedied.

To many this may appear futile, Quixotic! But far more futile and Quixotic is the notion that the present system under which our men, women and children are sacrificed for the benefit of a small capitalist class, can continue! Is it not the height of criminality to crowd 2,000 men, women and children on a flimsy excursion boat, in order that a Morgan and his boon companions, male and female—especially female—can have the most palatial, spacious, swiftest and best manned steel yacht afloat, on which to indulge their animal propensities? And is it not Quixotic to imagine the suffering masses will tolerate such crime, and forever meekly submit?

To prevent further Slocum disasters the capitalist class must be replaced by Society, capitalism by Socialism. Under Socialism, with its use of the means of communication and transportation, industries will be spread over larger areas and population scattered. Under Socialism, with its savings of the waste of competition, the employment of useless and idle labor in productive occupations, and the unrestricted development of science and invention the increase in the production of wealth will be so great as to make the present opportunities of the few, the possessions of all!

The silence of The New Yorker Volkszeitung on the strike in Weil's shoe factory over in Brooklyn, still continues. There are many queries as to the reason for this action on the part of this Social Democratic, alias Socialist organ, "dedicated to the interests of the working-class." But there should not be any mystery in the occurrence, for The New Yorker Volkszeitung is not adverse to protecting the interests of employers, despite its dedication. Did it not preserve the same silence when a lot of fakirs were fastening obnoxious contracts on the New York brewery workers? And did it not receive cold cash, in the shape of advertisements, for having sold out the brewery workers? Why should it go against Tobin and his association to aid manufacturers, especially as its revenues from the pure and simple unions, Tobin's included, would be affected thereby? The silence of The New Yorker Volkszeitung, Social Democratic, alias Socialist organ, "dedicated to the interests of the working class," is truly golden, and not at all mysterious.

General Bell considers Frank J. Hangs, counsel of the Western Federation of Miners, detrimental to the peace of the community, because he advises the miners not to submit. Bell, consequently, has had Hangs bull-penned. The fact that a lawyer advises his clients to act as Hangs has done the miners, does not strengthen a layman's belief in the legality of Bell's actions; on the contrary, it creates the impression that it is not the peace of the community that Hangs is detrimental to, but the execution of the plans of the Citizens' Alliance and the mine owners by General Bell. Colorado needs more Hangs, and less Bells, for the preservation of her peace.

The members of the Socialist Labor Party have in the Colorado outrages an unexcelled opportunity for propaganda. The outrages are so apparent, they abound in so many lessons touching on the fundamental economic differences between capital and labor, the class character of government, and the questionable conduct of pure and simple unionism, as shown in the friendly feeling displayed by General Bell toward the A. F. of L., that it is easy, with their aid, to demonstrate the truth of Socialist Labor Party economics, philosophy and tactics; tactics, especially. Comrades, do not, therefore, let the opportunity slip by. Let every comrade available, throughout the country, get out on the street corners and bring home to the working class the true and vast significance of the events now transpiring in the West. Those who cannot speak, should go along to distribute leaflets. Let every comrade get to work, there is much to do, and now is an appropriate time in which to do it. Our class is now ready for our message. Don't fail to deliver it!

THE COON BROUGHT DOWN.

The below "deadly parallel" is a double-barreled shot-gun that does its work to perfection:

Hanford on Forenoon Session, May 5, 1904, of the so-called Socialist Party National Convention.

(Daily Appeal to Reason, Chicago, May 6, 1904, p. 3.)

"We go out and tell men and women that you have got to come to Socialism for your salvation, and we understand that in the time intervening until the day when Socialism shall come to pass a man has got to live in order to establish Socialism, and that the race has got to survive or there will be no race to enjoy Socialism. The trades union movement deals with this question now. True, not for all but for as many as it can, and it is going to continue. You can read the history of the last hundred years, and I can tell you that had it not been for the force brought to bear by the trades union movement in resisting the encroachments of organized up in the Socialist movement. And every day when I was out of work, when I was a victim of enforced idleness, instead of going to the gin-mill and waste my time as others among the workingmen had done, instead of becoming despondent, I occupied my time reading a book or a paper or making a Socialist speech on a soap box, or something of that kind. In other words, what was despair to other people was the star of hope to me."

Irritable or ill-natured people might be inclined to point to the contradiction contained in the above, and ask, Where did he lie? But such a use of the above utterances would only exemplify how ill-natured people are prone to muffle the point. Mr. Hanford does not lie in either utterance. He tells the truth in both—and thereby unmasks and knocks himself down, like the booby and fakir that he is.

The second utterance tells quite truly, even strikingly, what the guild or pure and simple form of unionism does for the working class. It leaves them in such crass ignorance of what Capitalism means, it keeps the blinkers of visionariness clapped so tightly to their eyes, that they imagine they will forever get jobs, and that the union is the guarantee thereof. And, then, when the truth comes crashing in upon them, when improved capitalist methods, through concentration and machinery, throws THEM (them, not the officers, the latter's graft is permanent) out of work, then the gin-mill is their asylum. What they become there need not here be enlarged upon. The disheartened men grow despondent, and presently are human wrecks—physically, morally and intellectually. The only star of hope, the only hand reached out to this sinking humanity, whom the pure and simple guild form of unionism dumps upon the shores of time and leaves there to go to perdition, is Socialism. The Gompers, or Hanford, or guild form of unionism, like Capitalism, in whose mechanism such unions are wheels, leads the working class, not to salvation but to ruin,—the booby Hanford let that cat out of the bag.

But, then, the first utterance must be false! It is in flat contradiction to the second!—Not at all! It is perfectly true, in the Hanfords' mouth—that is to say, in the mouth of men who intermittently graft on the guild qualities of the pure and simple union. To such men, the Gompers union is a refuge when the graft on Socialism is not available. To such men, "the time intervening" means the time when they can not be sent on some bogus Socialist tour, say to Colorado or elsewhere. When they can be sent on such junkets (and whenever the junket turns out dangerous, as now in Colorado, the junketer quickly scoots away and rants at safe distance) then they give up their union job; but in order to be in condition, in order to "survive" for the junket, their guild union must be in condition, and they must be in good odor. In order to enjoy "Socialism," that is, the vacation of such junketings, they must have "lived," and the only way they have to live is to be in with the fakirs, who keep the guild unions alive.

It follows from the two utterances placed above in parallel lines that Mr. Hanford has unbeknown to himself actually contributed a valuable piece of information to the Labor Movement. The "American Labor Union Journal" ill-naturedly says of Mr. Hanford and his set that they saddled the so-called



BROTHER JONATHAN.—I would hang them all!

UNCLE SAM.—Whom?

B. J.—The scabs; the idle workmen.

U. S.—Do you think there is rope enough in the country to do that? There are every bit of 5,000,000 of them.

B. J.—I am not joking; they are a nuisance; they are a pest.

U. S.—Where did these fellows come from?

B. J.—From—hem—from—

U. S.—Well, I'll tell you. The employers combine and set up joint affairs. Just as soon as they do that they don't need to compete any more with one another. So long as they compete with one another they need more establishments and, of course, more hands. With fewer establishments, fewer hands are wanted. The hands that are not wanted go—

B. J.—On the street.

U. S.—Just so; they go into the army of the unemployed and hunger may drive them to become scabs.

B. J.—Is that the cause of the unemployed?

U. S.—One of the causes. Here is another. Machinery and perfected machinery is ever bringing new streams of recruits into the army of idle workmen.

The typesetting machine has thrown hundreds of typesetters out of work. In agriculture each patent binder throws nearly twenty men out of work, each cotton harvester throws out thirty-eight men, each steam plow throws out twenty-one men, and so forth; in the industrial field, each riveting machine throws out twenty-one men, each grain elevator on the Mersey docks throws out thirty-one, each steam roller with patent pick throws out from eighteen to thirty-eight men, the Owen Lehr machine in the glass industry throws out all the carrying-in hands, the machinery employed in the manufacture of agricultural machinery throws out 1,555 men—

B. J.—Stop! For heaven's sake, stop!

U. S.—Keep cool; I have only just begun. The "tumbler smoother" throws out three hands; each machine in the shoe industry throws out eight men, each stone planing machine throws out seven men and hundreds of them are now being thrown out of work in the stone yards by this new invention, in lace-making the machine throws out

2,000 women, in paper-making the machine throws out 140 hands, in weaving threads the machine throws out 1,099 hands—

B. J.—Stop! Stop!

U. S.—Have you got enough?

B. J.—Guess I have!

U. S.—Some of these people, thrown out by machinery, find employment in the building of new machinery, but not all. In the production of machinery itself, there is a displacement of twenty-five per cent. of hands. Thus the sea of idle craftsmen is fed by steady and swelling streams, while it is tapped by very slim out-lets. Such, Brother Jonathan, is the effect of the capitalist system of production under which the machine, instead of being owned and operated by the people for their use, as we Socialists demand, is owned by private individuals for their private profit at the cost of the people's welfare.

B. J.—Then these machines—

U. S.—Hold, I am not yet through with your first argument. Yonder lies a man murdered with a dagger in his heart. Whom would you arraign before the courts, the dagger itself or the man who drove it?

B. J.—Why, the man!

U. S.—Who is the "nuisance," who the "pest," the dagger or the murderer?

B. J.—Why, the murderer!

U. S.—Whom would you hang, the—

B. J.—I give in, I give in, I made an ass of myself.

U. S.—The unemployed, aye, the "scabs" included, are the dagger wielded by the capitalist system to stab the working class with. They are the unconscious instruments of the capitalist class, and that is the criminal we should remove. The capitalists would like nothing better than to be left alone and have people wear themselves out fighting the effects of capitalist misrule. Every one, aye, the pure and simple trades unionists included, who do so much kicking against the "scab" and the unemployed, every one who does not labor to overthrow the capitalist system, and rear the Co-operative Commonwealth, every one who by pen, word or vote throws his weight into the capitalist and withholds it from the Socialist scale—such is the real criminal to-day, a foe to himself, to his family, to his country and to mankind.

Socialist party with scab-herdism. This is true, but is only an incident to what they did. What they really did was to show the Siamese twinning between the guild form of unionism and their bogus Socialist party. They need such a party for enjoyment, but "in the time intervening" between enjoyment and enjoyment, they must live, and they could not live if during their masquerading as Socialists they did not hold up the end of the Gompers scab-herding principle, in other words, act as buffers against bona fide unionism. Thus the four-jointed truth in the matter is:

Without the hope of Socialism, neither the rank and file of the Gompers unions nor the grafting fakirs, who have no permanent graft on such concerns, could hold their heads above water; such Unionism rushes them perditionward, the gin-mill being one of the gates. With bona fide Socialism there is hope for the rank and file, but not for the incidental Hanford set of grafters on the Gompers unions. A bona fide Socialist party would afford these gentry no salvation. They need a party that they can pollute. Then, when the graft on the union intermittently runs out, they switch on their "Socialist" party; and when the graft on their "Socialist" party intermittently runs out, then "in the intervening time" they graft on the union—by getting on delegations, or on "agitation" or "secret" committees in the strikes that the permanent union grafters, "seen" by one set of competing capitalists, engineer against another set, or are allowed to get and keep a job in some shop.

There is nothing like giving a scamp rope. The national convention of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, party did that much good that it gave Ben Hanford rope—or to stick to our simile, furnished him the double-barreled gun to shoot himself down with in the eyes of thinking men.

2,000 women, in paper-making the machine throws out 140 hands, in weaving threads the machine throws out 1,099 hands—

B. J.—Stop! Stop!

U. S.—Have you got enough?

B. J.—Guess I have!

U. S.—Some of these people, thrown out by machinery, find employment in the building of new machinery, but not all. In the production of machinery itself, there is a displacement of twenty-five per cent. of hands. Thus the sea of idle craftsmen is fed by steady and swelling streams, while it is tapped by very slim out-lets. Such, Brother Jonathan, is the effect of the capitalist system of production under which the machine, instead of being owned and operated by the people for their use, as we Socialists demand, is owned by private individuals for their private profit at the cost of the people's welfare.

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The workingmen who vote the Democratic ticket, and regard the unlawful suppression of the Western Federation of Miners as an exhibition of Republicanism, to be remedied by the election of a Democrat in place of Peabody, will now have their hands full explaining the exhibition of the Tammany aldermen, who, under the leadership of "Little Tim" Sullivan, jeered the resolutions of sympathy for the miners presented to the Aldermanic Chamber of Greater New York, on the 14th inst. If the workingmen who vote the Democratic ticket are honest to themselves and their fellow workingmen, they will learn from this incident that both the old parties whether led by a Peabody, the representative of the mine owners, or by a "Little Tim" Sullivan, aldermanic leader of Tammany, "the friend of the workingman," are enemies of the working class and the friends and upholders of the capitalist class. Those workingmen who vote the Democratic ticket will learn, further, that these old parties can only be overthrown, not by alternately substituting the one for the other, but by substituting both forever by the election of class-conscious workingmen, who, understanding that the power of the capitalist class rests on its private ownership of the capital which the workers must use in order to live, are determined to use the political powers of the state to make that capital social property, thereby overthrowing the capitalist class and inaugurating the Socialist Republic, in which the interests of society, and not the triumph of a class, will be the object of all endeavor.

The efforts now being made to fasten the blame for the General Slocum calamity on the employees is in line with capitalist procedure in such cases. It avoids damage suits and saves capitalism from the folly of its own acts.

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSIGNED NAME WILL ATTACK SOME NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, REMAIN THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NAME OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

ROUNDING THE CIRCLE.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—While reading in to-day's Daily People what capitalism is doing in Colorado, I thought, surely "the wheel is come full circle" there, and took down my copy of Marx's Capital to verify it.

In the chapter devoted to "Primitive Accumulation," Marx shows that while the political economists of capitalism tell us that the entire course of economic history refutes them by showing that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, in brief BRUTE FORCE has been the dominant factor.

The economic structure under which we live to-day, grew out of the economic structure of feudalism. Under feudalism the worker was a serf bound to the soil and the person of the feudal lord; as such he could not move about and sell his labor where he pleased. We have no love for feudalism with its revolting prerogatives, but capitalism is every whit as vile. It is the feature of capitalism that those whom it exploits must be "free laborers," that is they must be "free" from having any means of production of their own. Capitalism has therefore to "emancipate" the laborer from his serfdom. In "freeing" the laborer it but transformed his servitude from feudal exploitation into capitalist exploitation. In doing this every right of the peasantry was taken away, viz: the use of the common land for pasturage, timber, firewood, turf, etc. The communal lands, the State domains, church property, all were seized, and their former holders thrown into the ranks of the proletariat. While putting the account of these things in a few words, Marx adds that the history of it is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire.

The "free" proletariat created by the breaking up of feudalism could not possibly be absorbed by the manufacturers then beginning. Nor could those men suddenly torn from their wonted mode of life, as suddenly adapt themselves to the new conditions. Stress of circumstances turned masses of them into beggars, robbers and vagabonds. Then was set in motion a bloody legislation against vagabondage. The powers that forced men into pauperism and crime now treated them as "voluntary" criminals. Whipping and imprisonment were resorted to. Men were tied to the cart-hall and whipped until the blood streamed from their backs; then they had to swear on oath to go and "put themselves to labor." In England, under Henry VIII, after the second arrest for vagabondage the whipping was repeated and half the ear sliced off, and for the third offence the culprit was executed as a hardened criminal and enemy of the commonwealth.

In that same England it was decreed that if any one "refused" to work he should be condemned as a slave to the person who charged him with being an idler; the statute provided that the master need only feed his slave on bread and water, weak broth, and such refuse meat as he saw fit. The master had the right to force the slave to work with whip and chains. If the slave escaped, a recovery he was branded on the forehead with the letter S; for running away three times, the penalty was execution as a felon. The master was empowered to dispose of his slave the same as any other personal chattel. If the slave should attempt anything against his master he was to be executed. Justices of the peace used to hunt the "rascals" down. A vagabond found "idling" for three days was branded with a red-hot iron and set to work in chains. Masters were privileged to put iron rings round the neck, arms, or legs of the slave for easier identification. Masters were allowed to enslave "vagabonds" for mere food and drink. This kind of parish slavery lasted in England until far in the nineteenth century, under the name of "roundmen." By such means, and others as grotesquely terrible, were these people, who had been torn from the soil, "disciplined" into the condition necessary for wage slavery.

The "free" workers being completely subjected to the capitalist class, capitalism began to flourish. Its whole energy of exploitation was let loose. Combinations of the workers were treated as heinous crimes, and the slightest attempt at revolt met with barbarous treatment.

Thus it was that capitalism "freed" the serf from feudal lordship and imposed its own chains upon him. In Colorado the capitalist class of to-day is as raw and brutal as that of the early days of capitalism in Europe. They have not yet learned the fitness that comes from Civic Federations and the like; rough shod they dash over the constitution and laws of their own making. The Colorado proletariat, through lack of that class-consciousness that Socialist philosophy alone awakens, by their dignity and solidarity have aroused the mine-owning capitalists to that fury which is equalled only by a hungry beast when deprived of its prey. The circle is being rounded. From that condition of

serfdom from which capitalism took the worker, it would now restore him. In the East capitalism does not show its raw head and bloody bones so clearly as in Colorado, but 'tis the same beast. Workingmen of the country, will ye yield to it? S. L. P.

New York, June 12.

A TELL-TALE CIRCUMSTANCE.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—There is a circumstance in the occurrences at Cripple Creek which proved that the crime at Independence was not committed by the strikers. It is this, that in the Portland mine union-men have worked in common with non-union men, and yet there has never been a disturbance of any kind!

Fraternally yours, C. Derose.
New York, June 12.

LIGHT ON COLORADO OUTRAGES.

To The Daily and Weekly People: Some one has truthfully stated, that the capitalist will lie for ten per cent., steal for fifty per cent. and kill for one hundred per cent. With this in mind the following news paragraph from the Lynn "Item" of June 19th before our gaze, the Colorado situation becomes clear. It tells us why socialism is being fought there and throws valuable light on the methods in vogue amongst this "Law and order" brigade, of "Religion" protecting and "family" upholding capitalists. Here it is:

"Announcement will soon be made of a gigantic new combination of capital in the United States and Europe. It is nothing less than an amalgamation of the valuable mines of America, and the man who is to consummate this stupendous transaction is John D. Rockefeller."

Another news item, in the same paper, is enough to make a horse laugh, if it were not for the tragical side of the matter, which must be kept in mind. It is as follows:

"CALL FOR FEDERAL TROOPS."

"Chicago, Ill., June 13, 1904.—An appeal to President Roosevelt to call out federal troops to protect the miners in Colorado was made Sunday, in resolutions adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor, which denounced what it termed 'the lawless crusade' of the military authorities of Colorado against organized labor."

Think of Roosevelt, the chief of the brigand class—he of the spike club fame—doing anything that would protect labor, and lame the arm that outrages our class. Think of any one taking seriously the resolutions of the Gompers brigade who vote for Colorado outrages and pay Sammy and his gang to see that they are regularly perpetrated in one form or another.

Roosevelt knows his class interest and he knows Sammy and his gang, and he knows what the S. L. P. knows, that Sammy is nothing but a flamboyant fraud, and the "resolutions" a lot of chicken brained dupes who don't know enough to know that the man they ask to aid them is the political chief of the brigand class which oppresses them! When they learn this they will stop "resolving" and begin acting, by taking possession of the land and capital of the nation which they can never do while they have Sammy on their back. They must throw him and his gang overboard; organize on the program of the S. T. and L. A. and the S. L. P., and vote the militia and the entire government into their hands. Then no one can perpetrate Colorado outrages upon them. Until then they will get them, because they vote for them.

Michael T. Berry.
Lynn, Mass., June 14.

ANOTHER JAMES F. CAREY.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Here in Kenosha, Wis., is a "Social Democrat" who believes James F. Carey of Haverhill, infamous for his \$15,000 armory appropriation. This is Alderman Kauffman.

Yesterday, while in the wagon factory here, a wage slave, with a natural instinct true to his class, for once at least, began jeering my claim that we were a working class party, and ridiculing my alderman for giving overcoats to the policemen, and ended with a witty remark about what "us working men wear." I promptly showed him we were not responsible for and were opposed to the Social Democrats. Still I was anxious to find what the real facts in the case were.

To-night, after a street meeting, I met Kauffman himself, and while I was answering his question as to the "cause of the split," he went away. I then enquired of some other Social Democrats about the "overcoats," and they told me Kauffman, as alderman, was responsible for a proposition furnishing the policemen with new uniforms. They really didn't see but that it was all right—"the policemen are working men," they said.

I pointed out that the policemen were

dependent for their jobs upon the enemy of the working class, and that experience proved them to be the enemies of the workers in their struggle against the capitalists. A Social Democrat then said, "but not in a small city like Kenosha"—15,000 population, highly developed industrially—and further justified Kauffman by referring to the civil service examinations passed by applicants for the police force. I asked who had charge of the examinations, and he said it was an impartial board. "But how is it constituted?" "By two members from each of the two leading parties—two Democrats and two Republicans." "Four servants of the capitalist class—a board solid against the workers. Don't you see, you aren't getting control of the police force by providing for their uniforms? You are simply adding to the office your enemy has the power to bestow upon his choice."

These rank and file Social Democrats are honest, but they are living upon Social Democratic literature alone, and they are all the harder to reach from the fact that they think they have a Socialist paper already. Fraternally,
Chas. H. Chase.
Kenosha, Wis., June 10.

WEST SIDE WAGE SLAVES AWAKENING.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—A rousing open-air meeting was held at the corner of Forty-ninth street and Ninth avenue (in the Fifteenth Assembly District), on Wednesday evening, June 15. Chairman Donohue opened the meeting at eight o'clock sharp, explaining the objects of the Socialist Labor Party. He then introduced Comrade Andrew Sater, who, in an able manner, showed the workingmen present why they are a merchandise in the labor market, to be bought and sold, like beef, leather or pork, according to supply and demand. Then he clearly showed that there is a class struggle raging between the buyers of labor—the capitalists—and its sellers—the workingmen, because of their antagonistic interests. Sater pointed out that as long as the workingmen do not understand the capitalist system, so long will they vote for it, and suffer under it. He then explained the necessity for the working class reading Socialist Labor Party literature.

After Sater had closed the chairman introduced John J. Kinneally, who, after explaining the proper kind of organization that the working class should have, citing the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, as an example, took up the Colorado outrages, and in an able manner showed how Governor Peabody and General Bell were using the powers of State to deport the miners and friends to another State, in brief, treating them worse than serfs or chattel slaves; and while these outrages are going on, the great Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labor cannot be found, and John Mitchell is sailing to England to study the labor problem.

Kinneally showed that Gompers, Mitchell, et al., are misleaders of labor, and proved that the pure and simple unions while they dominate are leading labor astray; concluding by pointing to the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance as the beacon lights of the working class.

The workingmen present were aroused to applause many times by the speaker's presentation of conditions in Colorado, and his arraignment of Gompers and Co.

One man present spoke of this being his country. The speaker asked how much of the country he owned. The workmen present saw the point, and told the countryman to move along.

The chairman closed the meeting with three cheers for the Socialist Labor Party. We sold sixteen pamphlets and a few copies of the Daily People. Seventeen names were received on sympathizer's cards, from the workingmen present.
J. Donohue, Chairman.
New York, June 15.

THE SORT OF WORK THAT COUNTS.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—The members of the Third A. D., S. L. P., held a successful open-air meeting at the corner of Bleeker and Thompson streets last night. The boys were out on time and quickly set up their "uncollapsible" and Comrade John Walsh, acting as chairman, after outlining the principles of the Socialist Labor Party, introduced Timothy Walsh of Brooklyn, who spoke on the old political parties and the trust magnates. One man in the audience wanted to know why the pure and simple "union label" was not on the literature we had distributed. He was answered to the satisfaction of those present and ventured no further questioning.

Pat Walsh of New York, was the next speaker, who dilated upon the rottenness of capitalism, referring to the burning of the fire-trap excursion boat General Slocum, and the outrages upon the working class of Idaho and Colorado as instances of what we can expect while we permit the system of private ownership to exist.

Robert Downs next took the platform, speaking on Socialism versus Capitalism and in closing drew attention to the literature of the Socialist Labor Party, which he urged his hearers to purchase.

Twenty-two pamphlets were sold and six men gave in their names as applicants for membership in the party.

This is the sort of work that counts. Comrades, buckle on your armor and let the slogan be "Down with Capitalism! Fought a Ballgame!"

Press Committee.
First, Third and Fifth A. D.
Manhattan.
New York, June 10, 1904.

UP AGAINST THE BUZZ SAW.

To The Daily and Weekly People: Section Belleville had a rather exciting meeting here Saturday, the 11th inst., on the Public Square. Comrade Goss opened, and Comrade Billsbarrow, of St. Louis, had given way to Comrade Philip Veal, of Collinsville, Ill. The latter was making good headway scathingly arraignment the labor fakirs, by showing how they divided the labor movement, compelling one trade to scab it on another, and in some instances, men in the same trade in one locality to scab it on the men in another locality, when he was interrupted by a walking delegate of the local Trades and Labor Assembly, named Boden, who was surrounded by seven or eight of his dupes. This fellow claimed that it was the Socialist Labor Party and not the fakirs, who did the scabbing.

Veal promptly invited him to take the stand and make good his assertions. The fellow winced and attempted to laugh out of his predicament, at the same time sending for the walking delegate of the Iron Molders' Union, who is a "socialist," alias Social Democrat.

Veal, thereupon, continued his address. At its conclusion he called for questions—but nary a word was heard from Boden and his gang. Veal then spied the Iron Molders' Union "socialist" delegate, who had come up by this time, and instead of inviting him to ask a question, put a question to him himself. This started the "socialist" going. The discussion grew hot, the audience swelled, and shouts of "back to the woods with the labor fakirs," combined with cheers, came from the crowd of 200 or more. The fakirs at this started a counter movement, and attempted to draw the crowds away by getting some men to come up the opposite street with a banner, but all to no avail. The crowd stayed and saw it out.

In the meantime Veal challenged the Molders' representative to a debate, offering him double time, but he stoutly maintained that there was nothing to debate, as the Socialist Labor Party knew nothing about Socialism. He finally left the scene, with the crowd calling after him "To the woods with you; to the woods."

We sold 14 pamphlets, while all our leaflets were eagerly sought.

Wm. Andreas.
Belleville, Ill., June 12.

SPREADING THE LIGHT IN RHODE ISLAND.

To The Daily and Weekly People: Last Sunday night in the Labor Temple here, the striking freight handlers held a public meeting, attendance about 200, and were addressed by the shining lights of the Democratic party, including Governor Garvin. (They weren't there for votes; oh, no!) The workers were again jollied about their interests being identical with those of "Brother" capital.

I got there about one hour before the meeting opened and distributed about 200 leaflets: "Some Things a Workingman Should Know." Inside of each of the above leaflets I put others, such as "The Difference," "The Unemployed" and "The Industrial Crisis," making about 400 leaflets put out at that meeting.

Sometimes it happens that when you give reading matter away no one reads it: it is thrown on the floor, in the gutter, or any old place to be rid of it. As I left the hall when my work was finished, I had no way to find out what they did with my leaflets, until this p. m., when Comrade O'Neil informed me that he failed to find more than five leaflets that had been thrown away, so Comrades, you can draw your own conclusion of what will happen in the near future when the workers are reached through our press. For that reason I have volunteered to push the Party press.

Like every other wage earner in the land, I don't get much time between meals that is not taken up in trying to make both ends meet; but, however, I will do what I can to aid in pushing the good work of the Socialist Labor Party.

Yours,
Francis P. Carney,
Literary Agent of Section Providence.
Providence, R. I., June 12.

FIRST GUN FIRED IN THE BRONX.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Local Alliance 140, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, held a very successful open-air meeting last night at the corner of 148th street and Willis avenue. Although this was the first meeting held in the Bronx this year, the attention given the speakers was a promising sign, one that augurs well for the

S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P. in this part of bustling New York.

Toward the latter part of the meeting, when questions were called for, a workman asked the question, "Why is it the Independent Shoe-workers of Brooklyn do not join their 'International Union' of that trade?" (He meant Tobin's union.)

The Tobin Boot and Shoe Workers' Union was shown up in its true colors, viz: the agreement with the boss to unionize the shop regardless of conditions; no strikes, or boycotts and arbitration. It was pointed out how the workers start arbitration with a majority in favor of their bosses on the committee.

Ye Gods! how quickly the crowd did grasp the point the speaker made, and how generous they were with their applause. It was a spontaneous outburst, due to the clear recognition of a fact; and also an indication of the growing intelligence of our class along class lines.

Another question was asked: it is the one question of all questions, viz: "What is the difference between the S. L. P. and the S. D. P.?" The question was answered in accordance with the facts at hand. The questioner seemed satisfied with the information given. The fact that this question was asked so soon in the campaign evidences the fact that the "Kangs" are getting to be better known than we, at times, allow ourselves to believe. It is a good sign of the times. Let them be known for what they are, not what they themselves pretend to be.

The meeting opened at 8 p. m., and closed at 10:30 p. m., considerable literature being sold, together with the taking of one "sub" for the Weekly.

The first gun has been fired in The Bronx, and to say its aim was true and that the camps of the labor fakir and the bogus Socialists were hit, is not without solid foundation in fact.

J. J. J.

New York, June 12, 1904.

AGITATION IN CHICAGO, ILL.

To The Daily and Weekly People: Enclosed find list of 13 subscriptions to the Weekly People, secured in Chicago and South Chicago in 3 days' work.

With the aid of our State Organizer, Will W. Cox, who is now in Chicago, we held a fine meeting at 92nd Street and Commercial Avenue, sold 6 pamphlets and distributed a good number of leaflets, besides which I was asked to come to a meeting of the 8th Ward Club, of the so-called Socialist party.

Section Chicago is going to send me to South Chicago, to push the Party press, and to organize a branch of the Socialist Labor Party, besides arranging and holding street meetings there.

Hoping to send in a better list next week.

Yours for the fighting S. L. P.,
Philip Kiley, State Solicitor.
Chicago, Ill., June 12.

A SAN FRANCISCO VIEW OF KITCH-ELT.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—The utter unfitness of the pure and simple union in the fight for the betterment of labor is nicely shown by the recent lithographer's lock-out.

Before the lock-out was precipitated, we, in San Francisco, received a telegram from National President Kitchelt, of the Artist's and Designer's League, in which were the words: "Arbitration Means Slavery."

After five weeks of lock-out, National President Kitchelt informs us by wire that an arbitration agreement had been agreed upon, and he recommended that we accept it. The telegram was begun with the words: "Hurrah! Victory!"

Now if arbitration means slavery at one time, the meaning of the word does not change in five weeks, and no matter what terms arbitration may have been agreed with, President Kitchelt advised us to accept arbitration, which he broadly defines as "slavery."

Every possible condition and circumstance that a pure and simple union could wish for, we had at the time of the lock-out. The bosses were miserably organized, not half the shops being in their organization. We were organized to a man, practically speaking. Half our men were at work and paying from twenty to twenty-five per cent. of their wages into our strike fund. Our profession is so highly skilled, that our places could not be filled by scabs. We had been earning wages steadily for years—wages that would average three and one half or four dollars a day. The time chosen by the bosses to lock us out could not have been better chosen by ourselves; the shops out there were crowded with orders and contracts. The treasury of the pressmen, I am told, was an accumulation of ten or fifteen years. (It was empty in five weeks—or so low that a heavy assessment is now being paid by their members.)

In short, if a lock-out could be won at all a pure and simple union, we must have won—yet after five weeks, we got arbitration, which President Kitchelt de-

LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BOXA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

D. W., NEW YORK.—Just wait, and you will find Adjutant-Gen. Sherman M. Bell made "honorary member" by some set of men who will call themselves a "Union" with headquarters in Cripple Creek.

C. M. O'B., FERNIE, B. C.—Socialism is the social system under which the natural (land) and social (capital) opportunities, without which production can not be carried on, shall be owned and operated by and for the people.

W. F., ALBANY, N. Y.—Is The People too severe in calling Sherman M. Bell a brigand? What else is he? Or do you hold that the Bells have carte blanche to call the workingmen, whom they outrage, "bandits," and Socialism, that would compel them to earn a decent living or die, "incendiarism"?

R. B., BUFFALO, N. Y.—In 1902 there were 60,804 people receiving indoor relief in this State and 31,441 receiving outdoor or temporary relief.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—Anonymous correspondence is not recognized.

E. S., NEW YORK.—Take a lawyer.

G. T., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—1. The International Socialist Committee at Brussels has no power to "recognize" or to "reject" any Socialist body. It is there simply as a medium of communication. Whoever writes to it, it is glad to answer.

2. It is kept up by contributions from organizations that choose to pay. It complains that few choose to.

D. T. O., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—The Daily People was founded on July 1, 1900. The Weekly People existed before, it was started on April 3, 1891.

Yes, you will remember, as "slavery."

We were told that the American Federation of Labor had its eyes fixed on us, and that as we are the most highly skilled or organized labor, we were being made to bear the first attack of organized capital. The American Federation of Labor watched us, we were told, because the fate of organized labor depended upon our withstanding the first assault, which if we failed to check, would expose the ranks of organized unskilled labor, to the likelihood of annihilation.

Well, the watchers must have noted the ease with which half organized capital routed us. The watchers in the A. F. of L. must have noted our eagerness to accept "slavery" after a short fight of five weeks. The watchers must have seen the doom of pure and simple unionism when we, the "aristocracy of labor," the strongest naturally equipped organization, holding every strategic advantage that pure and simple unions could wish for—we accepted arbitration, we were recommended to accept "slavery."

We showed the world of labor that to attempt to fight capital on the economic field alone, foredoomed us to destruction. We showed the economic field to be without one rock of protection, and capital, politically entrenched capital, easily forced our surrender.

We must occupy their position, entrench ourselves as a class behind the redoubt of government, before we can hope to win.

Sidney Armer.
San Francisco, Cal., June 11.

JOSEPH KAMMEL.

Joseph Kammel, a prominent member of the Socialist Labor Party, and Branch No. 132 of the Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Association, and for many years its efficient secretary, died at his home in Allentown, Pa., on June 8, after suffering for a period of four days from a stroke of apoplexy.

Comrade Kammel was an expert mechanic, a glider of exceptional ability. At the time of his demise he was forty-eight years of age. A widow and three children survive him.

The funeral took place on Sunday, June 12, and both the organizations of which the deceased was a member, attended in a body. Interment was made in Greenwood Cemetery.

LOWELL OPEN AIR MEETINGS.

The Socialist Labor Party of Lowell will hold open air meetings at the corner of Jackson and Central streets, every Saturday evening at 8 p. m. Now comrades and sympathizers of the movement, come and help to distribute literature. Bring your friends with you.
J. Youngjohns, Organizer.

The reason we claim for the Weekly People an older age than 13 years is that it is the continuation of the Workmen's Advocate. This was the name of the weekly national organ of the S. L. P. for four years previous to 1891. The Party simply changed the name of its organ into The People and enlarged it. It is the property of the Party, and the paper's editor is chosen by national convention and general vote.

T. G. E., ELMIRA, N. Y.—Matter is covered in advance by the editorial "Gompers in Hiding."

G. U., ALLEGHENY CITY, PA.—The promise to put the whole of Eugene Sue's "History of a Proletarian Family" into English is being kept. Since the "Pilgrim's Shell" another story, "The Infant's Skull," was published, and a third, "The Gold Sickle," is now being published, but both the latter in the Daily, Sunday's excepted.

A. S., NEW YORK; L. O. C., PUEBLO, COLO.; D. S. A., CHICAGO, ILL.; S. W., WACO, TEX.; G. J., TORONTO, CAN.; N. T., PATERSON, N. J.; L. C., COLUMBUS, O.; G. W., NEW HAVEN, CT.; J. R. S., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; T. W. W., PEORIA, ILL.; R. D., NEWBURG, N. Y.; D. P. L., BRIDGEPORT, CT.; J. M'C., DUNDEE, SCOTLAND; G. G., PITTSBURG, PA.; F. J. B. and T. B., BOSTON, MASS.—Matter received.

COLORADO DOCUMENTS WANTED.

Comrade H. J. Brimble, 407 Deibert St., Florence, Colo., is writing an account of the labor troubles in Colorado. Will the readers of The People who possess documents relating to the early part of the Cripple Creek strike kindly forward the same to him and help the work along?

N. Y. S. E. C.

A meeting of the New York State Executive Committee was held in the Daily People building on June 11. Ferguson and Kinn absent without excuse. Emil Wegener was elected chairman. Minutes of previous meeting accepted as read.

Communications: From Organizer Trainor, Section Onondago County, on per capita tax, his attendance at the National Convention his election as delegate to State Convention, and sending names of parties with whom Comrade Crawford can conduct correspondence. From Section Watervliet, announcing election of P. J. Burke as delegate to State Convention. From Organizer Burgholz, giving Section Essex County's reasons for refusing to remove bar of expulsion against Ernest Leske, Rockland Lake, N. Y., applicant for member-at-large. Secretary instructed to notify Leske accordingly. From O. Beldner, member-at-large of Jamestown, N. J., announcing his transfer to Section Detroit. From Utica, \$5.91 on account of N. A. F. matter. From J. T. B. Gearty, three reports of his agitation in Medina, Lockport, Brockport, Buffalo, North Tonawanda, Tonawanda, Niagara Falls, and Batavia, sending names of sympathizers for Comrade Crawford's correspondence bureau, and asking for instructions and credentials. Secretary reported forwarding same. Endorsed.

Financial report for May: Receipts, \$85.50; expenditures, \$23.19; balance, \$62.31.

Per capita tax, Section Monroe County, \$10.50; Section Rensselaer, \$7.50; Branch 2, Section Scandinavian, \$6.00.

N. A. F. matter: O. Beldner, Jamestown, \$4.60; Newburg, \$5.53; Utica, \$6.91; Albany, \$13.74; Richmond, \$14.46; Schenectady, \$18.50; Troy, 19.01; Syracuse, \$20.26; Westchester, \$23.23; Rochester, \$24.87; Buffalo, 35.73; Scandinavian Section, \$48.20; Greater New York, \$274.24; total \$509.45.

After discussing report to State Convention, and the outlook in the State, the meeting adjourned.

J. Ebert, Secretary.

FOR GENERAL ORGANIZER.

To all District and Local Alliances, Members at Large and Sympathizers of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance Greeting:—

You are urgently called upon to contribute toward the establishment of a fund for the purpose of enabling the S. T. and L. A. to place a General Organizer in the field at the earliest possible date. Every effort looking to that end should be made.

Address all contributions to John J. Kinneally, Gen. Sec., S. T. and L. A., 24 New Road Street, New York.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Henry Kahn, Secretary, 24 New Beale street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA
National Secretary, P. O. Box 340, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
24 New Beale street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)
Notice—For technical reasons the party announcements can no longer be set in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

CANADIAN NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Regular meeting of N. E. C., 190 Dundas street, London, June 3.
Comrade Maxwell elected to chair.
All members present.

Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted.

Communications:—From Section Toronto regarding place of meeting for coming national convention, and nominating Toronto for same. Communication received and filed. From Section Toronto regarding matter affecting Section Hamilton, stating same would be considered and reported to N. E. C. Contents noted, communication filed. From Section London giving names of new N. E. C., which were as follows: George Bryce, W. Forbes, J. Pearce, F. Maxwell, A. Weber, J. W. Cragg, C. A. Weitzel, and Fred Haselgrove, the national secretary. Same was received and filed. From Section Vancouver, B. C., enclosing \$2.50 for dues stamps, and confirming new members of N. E. C. as sent out by Section London. Received and filed.

National Secretary reported having sent circular letter regarding representation at coming International Socialist Convention to Sections.

New business:—A quorum of new N. E. C. being present, motion was put and carried that the N. E. C. now take office. The old N. E. C. thereupon retired, handing books, etc., to new N. E. C.

D. Rosa,
Rec. Sec'y p. t.

Meeting of new N. E. C. called to order by National Secretary, Comrade Fred Haselgrove. Comrade Weitzel elected chairman. Roll call showed Cragg and Weber absent without excuse.

Election of officers:—F. Maxwell, treasurer; W. Forbes, recording secretary.

Meeting adjourned.

Wm. Forbes,
Recording Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the Pennsylvania S. E. C., S. L. P., was held on June 16 at 1865 Sheridan street, Philadelphia. Comrade Mahler in the chair. Minutes of previous meeting approved as read.

Communications were received from Pittsburgh, giving local information, and stating that the records of former State Committee had been lost because of the disappearance of Mr. Rausenbofer, who had evaded party members. From John Bach, member-at-large, sending dues for assessment stamp; from A. Clever, Braddock, sending \$7.50 for dues stamps and \$5 for assessment stamps; from H. Kahn, sending credential blanks for eleventh national convention.

On resolution sent out by State Committee relative to going into election under party name, and calling for names for candidates for presidential electors and State officers, replies were received from Erie, Scranton, Reading, North Wales, West Elizabeth, and Philadelphia, all voting in favor of same and responding to call. As some parts have not been heard from in this matter, the State Committee takes this means of urging those members to immediate action. No time should be lost in the work that lies before us in this State.

The State secretary reports having sent to New York for an Italian speaker to appear at the meeting of the local organization of the Italian Socialist Federation in a discussion held before that body on the question whether to support the S. L. P. or S. P. in this campaign. Camillo Cianfarra was sent and states that he holds the sentiment to the S. L. P. side there. The secretary's action was endorsed.

Secretary also reports having purchased 107 due stamps. Receipts, \$12.70; expenses, \$20.20.
Edmund Seidel,
Record Secretary.

MASSACHUSETTS PICNIC COMMITTEE

Comprising members of the Socialist Labor Party and Boston Scandinavian Socialist Club, organized to arrange a picnic to be held on July 16, to raise campaign funds for the Massachusetts Socialist Labor Party General Committee. Comrades Enger, Mortenson, Engelheart, Werner, Carlson, Berry and Sweeney present.

Meeting called to order by Comrade Berry. Moved that Comrade Berry be chairman, pro tem. Moved that Comrade Sweeney be secretary, pro tem. Voted that the temporary officers be made permanent.
Voted to hold the picnic in Amory Grove, Saturday, July 16.

Moved that Comrade Engelheart be the treasurer.

Moved that Comrades Carlson and Berry attend to the printing and advertising.

Voted to invite the Scandinavian Socialist Singing Chorus, the Norwegian Singing Society, Danish Singing Society Brage, the Schwaben Singing Chorus, and the Swedish Gymnastic Club Svea.

Voted to have Comrades C. J. Mercer of Bridgeport, Ct., and G. Nelson, of Boston, as speakers in English and Swedish.

Voted to increase the committee to sixteen, the party and the club to elect them.

The committee now comprises Comrades Engelheart, Schugel, Sasche, Bohmback, Berry, Krouthen, Sweeney, Burnham, Dunneak, Mortenson, Werner, Carlson, Forberg, Peterson, Gronroos, and Swanson.

Moved that Comrades Rudquest and Roundquest attend to the shooting gallery; Comrades Hanson, Johnson and Hultberg to canes and throwing the ball.

Moved to request Mrs. Anderson, Mrs. Sasche, Mrs. Ballhaus and Mrs. Vichstrom to attend to the refreshment stand.

Voted that Comrade Forberg take charge of refreshment checks.

Voted that Comrades Hess and Bohmback serve on the purchasing committee.

Voted to accept the report of the programme committee and award the following prizes:

Tug-of-war, between members of the Socialist Labor Party and Scandinavian Club, a silver cup; running high jump, silver stand; putting the 16-lb. shot, a copy of "The Pilgrim's Shell"; running broad jump, a pipe; ladies hundred yard dash, knitted shawl; ladies egg and spoon race, toilet set.

Voted that Comrade Engelheart purchase the prizes.

Voted to request the general committee, Massachusetts Socialist Labor Party to grant some articles left from the fair.

Moved to adjourn until Wednesday evening, June 22. John Sweeney.

Secretary.

MASSACHUSETTS, ATTENTION!

Comrades:—By vote of the General Committee of the Party, a meeting of Party members will be held at 1165 Tremont street, Boston, Room 1, on Sunday, June 26, at 3 p. m., for the purpose of instructing the delegates to the National Convention.

You are called upon to attend this meeting and by your thought and intelligent co-operation assist in the building of our Party.
It is your duty to be present at this meeting and do what you can to bring others with you. Fraternally,
Michael T. Berry,
Secretary Mass. S. L. P.,
95½ Chestnut street, Lynn, Mass.

A CALL

The date of the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party has been set for Saturday, July 2, and the gavel will fall at 9 a. m. of that day, calling the convention to order.

For the place of the convention Grand Central Palace has been chosen, the same locality where the conventions of 1890 and 1900 have been held.

Delegates coming from points west of St. Louis can save in cost of transportation by going via St. Louis, as fares from that point to New York and back again are apt to be lower because of extra rates introduced in view of the exposition.

Members of Section New York who are in a position to lodge one or more delegates and are willing to do so, will please send their names and addresses to the undersigned.

For the National Executive Committee,
S. L. P., Henry Kahn,
Secretary.

MICHIGAN S. L. P. CONVENTION

The Socialist Labor Party of Michigan will hold its State convention at Detroit, on Saturday, June 25, 7 p. m., at Mannebach's Hall, 273 Gratiot avenue, (entrance on Hastings street).

Sections and members at large will please take notice.

ROCHESTER OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Open air meetings will be held by Section Monroe County, June 25 (Saturday evening), 8½ sharp, at the corner of Joseph avenue and Baden street. W. W. Cox and Philip Veal will address the meetings.

Comrades, sympathizers and readers of The People are invited to attend and help in the distribution of literature.

John Withers,
Organizer.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, NOTICE

Parties wishing to subscribe or renew their subscriptions to the Weekly People, will be called by by calling at Room 4, 322 1-3 North Third street. Popular priced pamphlets for sale, and standard books to loan at a small fee, or for sale upon order. Call after 6 p. m. or on Sunday morning.

NEW YORK OPEN AIR MEETINGS

The New York County Committee, Socialist Labor Party, has arranged the following schedule of open air meetings to be held in the districts and on the nights designated below.

Friday, June 24th, 8 p. m.
14th Assembly District—Tenth street and Second avenue. Speakers: E. F. Wegener and J. Eck.

Saturday, June 25th, 8 p. m.
32d Assembly District—100th street and Lexington avenue. Speakers: F. Campbell and J. Vaughn.

Monday, June 27, 8 p. m.
Eighteenth Assembly District—Sixteenth street and Avenue A. Speakers: E. T. Wegener, J. Eck.

Tuesday, June 28, 8 p. m.
Sixth Assembly District—Fifth street and Second avenue. Speakers: August Gilhaus, J. Vaughn.

Wednesday, June 29, 8 p. m.
Twentieth Assembly District—Twenty-fifth street and Third avenue. Speakers: E. T. Wegener, F. Campbell.

Friday, July 1, 8 p. m.
Sixteenth Assembly District—Fourth street and Avenue B. Speakers: E. T. Wegener, J. Eck.

THE DAILY PEOPLE HOMESTRETCH FUND

UNDER THIS HEAD WILL BE PUBLISHED ALL DONATIONS MADE FOR THE LAST FINAL EFFORT TO CLEAR UP THE BALANCE OF THE DEBT ON THE DAILY PEOPLE PRINTING PLANT. THAT BALANCE, ON NOVEMBER 15, WAS \$4,643, PLUS INTEREST. WATCH AND SEE HOW THE FIGURES OF THE "HOMESTRETCH FUND" GET UP TO IT.

Previously acknowledged\$4274.70
L. Nasovitch, Seattle, Wash. 5.00
P. Monahan, W. Albany, N. Y.50
H. Brandenburg, Hennings, Minn.50
D. McRae, Winnipeg, Man., Can. 2.00
U. Frueh, Paterson, N. J. 1.00
J. Finkbahrer, Phila., Pa. 3.00

Total\$4286.70

SPECIAL FUND.

(As per circular letter Sept. 3, 1901.)
Previously acknowledged\$8774.25
S. Winauer, N. Y. City 1.00
Sect. Richmond, Va. (Loan Cert.) 20.00
M. Hiltner, N. Y. City75
Sec. Newport News, Va. (Loan Certificate) 20.00

Total\$8816.00

IMPORTANT FOR BUFFALO.

The Buffalo Socialists will have an excursion down Niagara River and around Grand Island this Sunday, June 26. The double-decked boat "Twentieth Century," with a new, large steamer, will leave dock at foot of Ferry street, Sunday morning at 9.30 o'clock. Stops will be made at different resorts on the Island.

Good dancing, music, refreshments, etc., are provided for. Tickets, twenty-five cents for adults, fifteen cents for children from six to fourteen years, will be for sale at the dock.

Every friend of the S. L. P. in Buffalo is invited to spend this Sunday in the company of fellow Socialists, enjoying the cooling breezes of the Niagara.

CLEVELAND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Until further notice regular open-air meetings will be held every Saturday on Marshall's corner of the Public Square. All meetings to begin at 7.30 sharp.

During July, August, September and October business meetings of the section will be held first Sunday in the month at 355 Ontario street.

Organizer.

D. A. 4, S. T. & L. A.

Meeting called to order by Secretary F. C. Burgholz, at 270 Orange street, Newark, June 11, at 8 p. m., John Hockenson in chair. All officers were present.

On motion credentials from German Mixed Trades L. A. 410 of Elizabeth, for Comrades Fallitt, Mueller and Kilbert were received and delegates seated. The same course was taken with credentials for delegates from L. A. 400, Johnson, Hockenson and Franzen.

Other delegates present were L. A. 257, Arazzone; L. A. 405, Hartung and Burgholz; S. L. P., Zierer and Boland; L. A. 377, absent.

Organizer reported on out-door meetings held in Hudson County, and one meeting in Jersey City going on now regularly with good attendance of workers. He recommended getting 1,000 copies of the Weekly People containing De Leon's lecture, "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism."

Financial secretary and treasurer's report was received.

Two applications from L. A. 400 were received and filed. Balance of bill from N. Y. L. N. Co. of \$2.75 was ordered paid.

Organization Committee reports organizing a German Mixed Trades L. A. in Elizabeth with fourteen charter members. Charter received.

The floor was then granted to the General Secretary, John J. Kimmally, who spoke of the funds so far collected

to put a general organizer in the field, and stated that the G. E. B. was now ready to send agitators to various centers in the jurisdiction of D. A. 4, the time having arrived to make the working class acquainted with the class struggle and its final development; especially to bring home the lessons of the outrages in the State of Colorado and to show to them the cause thereof, and how to apply the remedy therefore. Now is the time to cultivate the workers' mind and attention.

An out-door agitation meeting was ordered to be held June 25, at 8 p. m., at the corner of Albany and George streets, New Brunswick, N. J., the same to be in charge of Comrade Zierer, as was a meeting for June 15, in front of New Library, Broad and Bridge streets, Newark, and a meeting every week hereafter at different points in the city, the same to be in charge of L. A. 405. One meeting for June 18 at the corner of Broad and Jersey street, Elizabeth, in charge of German Mixed L. A. and one meeting in Trenton, N. J., and one in Rahway, N. J., during this month, in charge of L. A. 257, were also ordered.

Ordered to continue the agitation in Hudson County. D. A. 4 suggests to G. E. B. the printing of posters to advertise meetings, as hand bills are wasted and difficult to place in the proper hands; said posters to be gotten up that they may be used all over the country.

Secretary was instructed to order 1,000 copies of De Leon's lecture on "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism."

The following officers were elected for coming term: Organizer, A. J. Boland; recording secretary, F. C. Burgholz; financial secretary and treasurer, H. Hartung; auditing committee, Burgholz, Gerold and Hartung; agitation committee, Fallitt, Zierer, Burgholz, Hockenson, Boland, and Aiazzone.

Secretary was instructed to visit meeting of L. A. 397 and find out if the L. A. has proceeded in charges preferred by F. C. Burgholz against a certain member for violating pledge and principles of S. T. & L. A., and if not, to proceed to bring charges against L. A. 397.

After a general discussion on good and welfare the meeting adjourned.
Frank C. Burgholz, Secretary.

A REMARKABLE DOCUMENT.

Continued from 1st page.

committee hereby accept the above agreement for and in behalf of the shoe workers of Chicago,
(Signed)

William Schnell,
Fred Lee,
A. Lundin.

It has long been agreed by civilized men, as a matter of law, to accept the testimony against himself when given in open court, when it is known that the witness is not insane, nor the evidence fraudulent. Applying this rule to Tobin and his gang and considering the evidence here given by themselves, according to it they stand convicted as a gang of labor dealers, whose only ambition is to fatten on the misery of the poor dupes who are caught in the meshes of Tobin's due trap, misnamed Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

Comment is not necessary. This "contract" speaks for itself. It is perfectly safe to rest the case against this scabby pack here, at this point only proceeding to observe that Tobin and the manufacturers are the winners, while the dupes lose. They pay twenty-five cents per week for the "privilege" of being fleeced, for whatever service they had in an unorganized state has vanished. They are tied hand and foot and plucked by the capitalists and the vermin whom they employ to aid them, which includes both the labor fakir and the Kan-garoo.

When will the dupes open their eyes? Is it any wonder that we have Colorado outrages when things like this occur and no protest is made of those sought to be robbed by this sneaking gang of scabby labor fakirs?

Push the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party.

Michael T. Berry.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe. Subscription price: 50 cents per year; 25 cents for six months. Address Weekly People 2-6 New Beale street, New York City.

COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

In the Danish-Norwegian language.

Single Copies, 15 Cents.

3 copies, 25c; 4 copies, 50c; 10 copies, \$1.

Orders with money should be sent to Sev. M. Dehly, 2310 Elliot avenue, Seattle, Wash., or to the

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.

2-6 New Beale Street,

New York City.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Two hundred and seventy-five subscriptions to the Weekly People were secured during the week ending Saturday, June 18th. That is a substantial increase over the past few weeks and is the result of quite a number of comrades getting into harness for the season's work. Let this awakening among the comrades spread. Let every Socialist do something for the cause this year. Right now, as we are about to enter the Presidential campaign, every member of our organization and every sympathizer should feel it his duty to devote a little of his time and energy towards making this campaign the most successful of all. One way and one of the best ways towards helping to that end is by getting subscriptions for the Weekly People.

Fifty dollars worth of prepaid subscription cards were sold as follows: San Francisco, \$5; Buffalo, \$5; Bridgeport, Conn., \$5; Everett, Mass., \$5; San Antonio, Tex., \$5; Seattle, Wash., \$5; Albany, N. Y., \$5; Baltimore, \$5; St. Louis, Mo., \$4; J. B. Ferguson, Tuolumne, Ca., \$5; Oscar Freer, Columbus, O., \$1.

The 16th A. D. N. Y., sends in a list of sixty-two subscribers, which gives them a nice increase in the number of readers in that district. The 34th is on hand as usual, with sixteen this week. The 23rd sends in a list of nine and the 12th A. D. of Brooklyn, secured 5.

The Chicago comrades are keeping up their excellent work, adding twenty more readers to their list. Fifteen of these were secured by their solicitor, Comrade Kiely.

Comrade Leitner, of San Antonio, Tex., sends in twelve subscriptions and is doing all he can to push the work in his city.

Comrade Rager, of Braddock, Pa., who received a copy of "The Pilgrim's Shell" last week for securing eight yearly subscribers, sends in ten yearly subscribers this week and gets a copy of "Woman Under Socialism."

Comrade Bohmbach, of Boston, also gets a copy of "The Pilgrim's Shell," he having sent in fourteen subscribers.

Others sending in five or more subscribers are as follows: Gen. E. Board, S. T. and L. A., N. Y., 12; J. D. Goerke, Cleveland, O., 9; R. Berdan, Paterson, N. J., 8; Fred O'Neil, Pomona, Cal., 6; C. H. Chase, Sheboygan, Wis., 6; Section St. Louis, 6; Section Seattle 5; Section Richmond, Va., 5.

The following orders were received last Sunday for copies of this issue containing Comrade De Leon's lecture "The Burning Question of Trade-Unionism": New York County Committee, 6,000; Rochester, N. Y., 1,000; D. A. No. 4, S. T. and L. A., Newark, N. J., 1,000; Chicago, 1,000; S. R. Rager, Braddock, Pa., 1,000; Cincinnati, 750; Tacoma, Wash., 800; East St. Louis, Ill., 500; Toronto, Ont., 300; St. Louis, Mo., 200; Val. Martin, Jacksonville, Ill., 200; St. Paul, Minn., 200; Bridgeport, Conn., 100; Superior Wis., 50.

A number of prepaid subscription cards are coming in with two cent stamps affixed. This is a loss of money. A one cent stamp is enough. When sending in a number of cards, the expense will be still further reduced by placing them in a sealed envelope and putting the necessary stamp thereon.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

The week ending June 18th, showed further increase in the orders for leaflets and pamphlets, indicating greater activity than formerly in the propaganda field. The orders for leaflets were mainly for "Where Wages Come From" and "Why Strikes Are Lost;" for pamphlets, "Behind the Scenes." While these were the leaders, the other valuable leaflets

and pamphlets were also ordered in assorted lots.

Among the orders received were the following: Adam Marx, New London, Conn., 1500 leaflets; Section Utica, N. Y., 1000 leaflets and 75 pamphlets; G. T. Jennings, E. St. Louis, Mo., 1000 leaflets; P. Jacobson, Yonkers, N. Y., 2,000 leaflets and 20 pamphlets; C. A. Ruby, Rochester, N. Y., 2,000 leaflets; F. Leitner, San Antonio, Tex., 3,000 leaflets; Section Tacoma, Wash., 4,000 leaflets.

Adam Marx writes that he is still hustling for the two books, "Woman Under Socialism" and "The Pilgrim's Shell." We still have a number of the first editions of these good works in stock. They would soon disappear from our shelves, if a few more hustlers like Adam Marx and Moritz Ruter could be found among our members and friends. They have demonstrated that the books are easy sellers. Try them and see for yourself.

Quite a large number of advance orders were received for De Leon's translation of Ferdinand Lassalle's, "Franz von Sickingen," during the week. Bear in mind that cash must accompany these orders to insure publication and prompt delivery.

By a special arrangement with Dr. Noto, the price of his novel "The Ideal City" has been reduced to 75 cents a copy.

The price of "The Buzz Saw Series," advertised elsewhere, has also been reduced to clear out the stock. Now is the time to take advantage of these reductions.

Of late, comrades making remittances to The Daily and Weekly People and the Labor News Co., have gone to the trouble and expense of buying separate money orders for cash. This is not necessary. Include both in one money order; but write the matters intended for each separate sheets of paper as heretofore.

As far as possible, the assembly districts of New York and the Sections throughout the country must send cash with orders. At present, only a very limited amount of credit can be given.

CHILD LABOR

Continued from 1st page.

mills and factories provide proper accommodations for women and children employees, and that the latter are quick to pick up evil habits. At a glass factory which the inspector visited many of the boys coming from work were observed to have cigarettes or pipes in their mouths. At a brewery beer was given away not only to the adult employees, but to the boys and girls, the boys receiving one pint and the girls half a pint every noon and evening.

Children at work often appear older than they really are. "They are no longer children after they go to work."

ANNUAL PICNIC

Under The Auspices of

Boston Scandinavian Socialist Club

and the

S. L. P. of Massachusetts

Saturday Afternoon, July 16th.

Amory Grove, Roxbury

Speeches by CHAS J. MERCER of Bridgeport, Conn.,

and GEORGE NELSON of Boston

Dancing afternoon and evening. Games without number. Vocal music by various

Singing Societies: Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and German. Instrumental by

Dorothy's orchestra.

Tickets, - - - 25 cents.

Children under 12 years, with parents free

Take Jamaica Plains, Forest Hill, Columbus avenue and Franklin Park, and Co-

lumbus avenue cars. Proceeds go to Campaign Fund of S. L. P.

PLATFORM SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all

men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American Republic, we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

With the founders of this Republic, we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule. Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated that the people may be kept in bondage. Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the law, and all of the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of lawless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.